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Y SEYMOUR & WILLIAMS.

1811.



THE
HISTORY OF GEORGIA,

CONTAINING

BRIEF SKETCHES

OF THE

MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS,

UP TO THE PRESENT DAY.

BY CAPT. HUGH M'CALL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL.....I.

.....With a vast benevolence of soul,
To range like OGLETHORPE from pole to pole.

POPE.

SAVANNAH:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY SEYMOUR & WILLIAMS.

1811.

District of Georgia.

BE it remembered, that on the twenty-ninth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and eleven, and in the thirty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Captain Hugh M'Call, of Savannah, in said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:

"The History of Georgia, containing brief sketches of the most remarkable events, up to the present day. By Captain Hugh M'Call; in two volumes: volume one.

....."With a vast benevolence of soul,
"To range like Oglethorpe from pole to pole."

POPE.

In conformity to the Act of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned."

RICHARD M. STITES, Clerk.

DEDICATION.

*The Honorable the General Assembly
of the State of Georgia.*

TO THE

REPRESENTATIVES OF A FREE

AND

INDEPENDENT PEOPLE,

THE HISTORIAN OF A COUNTRY NATURALLY LOOKS
FOR PATRONAGE.

TO YOUR

HONORABLE BODY,

THIS HUMBLE EFFORT

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THIS volume will bring the History of Georgia up to the commencement of the revolutionary war, and the author is now employed in collecting materials for the second, which will embrace that interesting period. He earnestly invites the correspondence of those gentlemen, who participated in the glorious struggle which gave freedom and independence to the United States; and solicits copious communications, containing the dates of battles and skirmishes, the names of the officers and number of troops on each side, a description of the ground, the number killed, wounded and taken prisoners.

No state in the union suffered more than Georgia—none made greater struggles—none had such difficulties to encounter, and none has been so little noticed in the general history of the war. Every reader is capable of contributing his mite, and the most unpolished narrative of interesting facts, will be thankfully received.

Savannah, Nov. 1811.

PREFACE.

IT is the practice of almost every writer to preface his productions with apologies. Perhaps there are few who have a better claim to the lenity and indulgence of critics, than the author of this work : never having contemplated appearing in the character of an historian, he has reluctantly, and not entirely with his own consent, offered the following sheets to the press. Without map or compass, he entered an unexplored forest, destitute of any other guide than a few ragged pamphlets, defaced newspapers, and scraps of manuscripts. In many instances he has been obliged to resort to the aged, and appeal to their memories for a connection of events, relating to the history of Georgia in its infancy. In commencing the enquiries and collecting the facts which have terminated in this work, it was the author's intention to proffer them to an historian, who was capable of doing justice to the task, and he made the offer to several gentlemen whose talents were equal to the undertaking, but he uniformly found that their avocations interfered with the accomplishment of a plan, which

he had so deeply at heart ; he was therefore compelled to offer this humble effort to the public, or suffer the product of his exertions to remain useless, and moulder amongst the many important papers which have been consigned to oblivion.

The occurrences of a new country, when dressed in their best attire, are not very engaging, and it is to be expected that many interesting facts have escaped the author's notice, owing to the limited scope of his researches, in consequence of his affliction under a portion of disease and decrepitude, almost without a parallel in the history of human life.

THE

HISTORY OF GEORGIA.

CHAPTER I.

IT is natural and right that we should feel a lively interest and concern in the lives and fortunes of our ancestors. When we behold them braving the horrors of the desert ; surmounting the difficulties of an inhospitable climate ; exploring forests infested with wild beasts, and surrounded by savages ; their courage and perseverance inspire us with astonishment and admiration. We are pleased with a recital of the dangers they have escaped, and the difficulties they have encountered, in planning and executing the establishment of a country, in which we now enjoy the blessings of liberty, peace and plenty. These reflections, justly fill us with enthusiastic esteem, respect and affection, for the stock from which we have descended.

From the best sources of information which can be resorted to at the present day, Sir Walter Raleigh is the reputed discoverer of that part of the United States, now denominated Georgia. This man, so greatly distinguished for his genius, courage, enterprise, and unmerited fate, under the government of a pusillanimous monarch, had been deeply interested in the adventures of his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert; and anxious to complete the discoveries which he had commenced, determined to prosecute them with vigor. Accordingly Sir Walter made application to queen Elizabeth for a patent similar to the one granted to Gilbert, which was obtained on the 26th of March, 1584, to explore North-America, and take possession of such countries as he might discover; and on the 23d of April, he dispatched two ships under the command of captains Amadas and Barlow, for the purpose of visiting the countries of which he contemplated the future settlement. And to avoid the errors of Gilbert in shaping his course too far to the frozen regions of the North, took the route by the West India Islands, and approached the North American continent at the Gulf of Florida, from whence he coasted and occasionally touched the land, visiting and conversing with the natives, until they reached Pamlico sound on the borders of North-Carolina, thence along the coast northward, and returned to England in September; reporting that he had discovered a fine

country called Windangocoa, to which the queen gave the name of Virginia. It is doubted by some historians whether Sir Walter Raleigh accompanied this expedition in person, or whether he ever visited North-America.* When James Edward Oglethorpe, the principal founder of the colony of Georgia, came over from England, it is said he brought with him Sir Walter Raleigh's written journal; and by the latitude of Savannah and the traditions of the natives, it appears that Sir Walter Raleigh landed at the mouth of Savannah River, and visited the bluff on which the city was afterwards built.† During his wild and chimerical attempts for finding *El Dorado* or the golden country, it is not improbable that this bold persevering adventurer, visited many places on the coast, of which we have no account. Having been stripped of the royal favor on the accession of king James, after the death of queen Elizabeth, of

* Burke of Virginia.

† Extract of a letter published in a South-Carolina Gazette, dated Charleston, 22d of March, 1733.

“ Mr. Oglethorpe has with him, Sir Walter Raleigh's written journal, and by the latitude of the place, the marks and traditions of the Indians, it is the place where he first went on shore, and talked with the Indians, and was the first Englishman they ever saw; and about half a mile from Savannah is a high mount of earth under which lies their chief King: and the Indians informed Mr. Oglethorpe, that their King desired before he died, that he might be buried at the spot where he talked with that great good man.” This extract was republished in a pamphlet, written by Benjamin Martyn, the trustees secretary.

whom he was a favorite ; and having been unjustly imprisoned under an unfounded charge of treason, by which he fell a victim to policy and not to justice ; therefore it is not improbable that such a series of persecutions occasioned the loss of memoranda, which would have been valuable and interesting at the present day.

When Mr. Oglethorpe communicated the contents of Sir Walter's journal to the Indians in Georgia, they stated from traditional communications handed down to them, that their fathers once held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters, whose memory they had been taught to revere from the high opinion formed of him by their ancestors, and pointed out to Mr. Oglethorpe at a little distance from Yamacraw bluff, a high mound of earth where the Indian king was interred, who talked with the English warrior ; he having desired to be buried where this conference was held. The reader must be left at liberty to draw his own conclusions.

The State of Georgia was included in a patent granted to South-Carolina ; first as a proprietary government ; and in 1719, it became a regal one, bounded by the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude.

The policy of planting a new colony south of Savannah river, on principles essentially different from those by which South-Carolina was governed, was an object of great importance

to that province. A jealousy had long existed between Great-Britain and Spain, respecting the boundaries of their settlements in North and South America, in which those nations charged each other with unjust annoyance to trade between the mother countries and their colonies. The rapidity of population in North-America, and its growth into commercial consequence, promised a rich source of traffic as well as maritime strength to England. Agriculture was the prime object, and the culture of rice, which held up the most promising source of wealth, could not be carried on successfully without the assistance of Africans, whose constitutions seem formed by nature to bear the heat and exposure of a climate, most favorable for its production. The colony of South-Carolina at that time was numerously stocked with negroes, who had been brought from Africa by British merchants, and sold to the planters, whose wealth was estimated almost exclusively by the number of their slaves. It was the interest of Spain to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the planters of the British colonies, and none promised to be more effectual than that of inveigling the negroes from the service of their owners, pointing out to them the happiness of freedom, and promising them all the privileges of his catholic majesty's subjects. In order that these allurements might be the more effectually accomplished, a black regiment was formed, consisting entirely of runaway slaves

from Carolina. As there was no war then existing between the two nations, remonstrances were presented to the governor of Augustine, without having the desired effect. The boundaries between the British provinces and Florida, had not been settled by any public agreement between England and Spain, neither were they marked or well understood. To prevent negroes escaping from the Carolinas to Augustine, a fort was built on the Alatomaha river, and garrisoned. This gave offence to the governor of Augustine, who complained of it to the court of Madrid, as an encroachment on the dominions of his royal master. The Spanish ambassador at London lodged the complaint before the court of Great-Britain, and demanded that orders should be sent to remove the troops, and demolish the fort. It was agreed that the governors of the respective nations in America, should meet in an amicable manner, and adjust the respective boundaries between the British and Spanish dominions in that quarter ; accordingly Don Francisco Fernandez, and Don Joseph De Robiero, in behalf of Spain, went to Charleston, to hold a conference on the subject, with the executive officers of government. At this meeting, Arthur Middleton, president of the council, demonstrated to the Spanish deputies, that the fort against which complaint had been made, was built within the bounds of the charter granted to the proprietors ; that the pretensions of Spain to

the lands in question were groundless ; and that the fort in question was erected for the purpose of defending themselves and their property, against the depredations of the Indians, under the jurisdiction of Spain ; and begged to know the reasons why his catholic majesty's governor, in Florida, protected felons and debtors that fled to them ; and why negroes were encouraged to leave their master's service, and take refuge in Augustine ? The deputies replied, that the governor of Florida would deliver up all felons and debtors ; but that he had express orders of twenty years standing, to detain all slaves who should fly to St. Augustine for liberty and protection, and that the design of his royal master was the exercise of humanity, and a disposition to convert them to the christian religion ; and that the king had ordered compensation to be made to the owners of runaway slaves, in money, which, however, was seldom or never complied with. The negociation ended unsatisfactorily to both parties, the fort was soon after burned down, and the southern frontier of South-Carolina was again left exposed and defenceless.

The principal object of Spain in possessing the coast north of the Mississippi, was to secure the Indian trade brought down that river, as well as those north of it. The coast was garrisoned with troops, and agriculture was but little attended to. Spain justified herself in these acts of aggression, on the common right of all the

human race to freedom. The colonists in return claimed a right to the labour of slaves, for whom they had paid a price equal to the value of their services, and urged that their condition in that capacity was greatly ameliorated, by bringing them from a country where wretchedness, misery and want, were the common lot of the whole race. In this diversity of opinion held out by two nations, separated but a short distance from each other, it is easily perceived that discord would soon kindle into hostility. Anxious for the adoption of some plan by which Carolinians would be relieved from an evil from which they foresaw the destruction of their colony, they readily encouraged the planting of another between them and their troublesome neighbours in Florida. With these views they held out the advantages of forming a new colony between Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers, and encouraged the formation of a company in England, consisting of men of wealth, influence, and respectability, who were willing to embark in the humane design of sending over a number of poor people who had neither lands, or other means of supporting themselves and families: accordingly twenty-one persons petitioned the throne, and on the 9th of June 1732, obtained a charter* for a separate and distinct province from Carolina, between the Savannah and Alata-

* See appendix No. 1.

maha rivers, by the name of Georgia, in honor of the king by whom this charter was granted.

His majesty George the second by his letters patent, recited amongst other things, that many of his poor subjects were through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessities, and would be glad to be settled in any of his majesty's provinces in America, where by cultivating the waste and desolate lands, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence, but also strengthen his majesty's colonies and increase the trade, navigation and wealth of his majesty's realms ; and that the province of North America had been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more especially that of South-Carolina, whose southern frontier continued unsettled and lay open to the neighboring savages ; and that to relieve the wants of the said poor people and to protect his majesty's subjects in South-Carolina, a regular colony of the said poor people should be settled and established on the southern frontiers of Carolina ; did for the considerations aforesaid, constitute a corporation by the name of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America. The king's trusty and well beloved John Lord Viscount Purcival, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, Stephen Hales, Thomas Tower, Robert Moore, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Burton,

Richard Bandy, Arthur Bradford, Samuel Smith, Adam Anderson and Thomas Coram, Esq's. and such other members as might thereafter be appointed ; were vested with powers to purchase and take lands, to sue, and be sued, to have a common seal, and to choose members of the said corporation on the third Thursday in March yearly, with restraining clauses. That no member of the said corporation should have any salary, perquisites, fee, benefit or profit whatsoever for acting therein, or have any office, place or employment of profit under said corporation ; with a direction for the said corporation every year to lay an account in writing before the lord chancellor, chief justice of the king's bench, master of the rolls, chief justice of the common pleas, and chief baron of the exchequer, or any two of them, of all monies or effects by them received or expended for carrying on the good purposes aforesaid, with a power to make by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances ; and granted amongst other things to the said corporation and their successors, under the reservations therein mentioned, seven undivided parts (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided) of all those lands, countries and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of South-Carolina in America, which lies from the most northern stream of a river there commonly called Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or

river called the Alatomaha, and westward from the heads of said rivers respectively in direct lines to the south seas; to have and to hold the same, to them the said corporation and their successors forever, for the better support of the said colony under the yearly rent of four shillings proclamation money of South-Carolina, for every hundred acres of the said lands forever; which the said corporation should grant, demise, plant or settle, but not to commence until ten years after such grant, demise, planting or settling: and erected and created the said lands, countries, and territories into one independent and separate province by the name of Georgia, and made the inhabitants who should reside therein, free and not subject to any laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions of South-Carolina, except the commander in chief of the militia: and authorised the said corporation for the term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, to form and prepare laws, statutes and ordinances for the government of the said colony, not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, to be presented under their common seal to his majesty in council, for his approbation or disallowance: and that the said laws so approved of, should be in full force and virtue within the said province: and empowered the common council for the time being of the said corporation, or the major part of them, to dispose of, expend and apply, all the monies and effects belonging to the said corpo-

ration, and to make contracts for carrying and effecting the good purposes therein intended : and that they should from time to time appoint a treasurer, and such other officers, ministers and servants of the said corporation, as they should see proper, for the good management of their affairs ; and at their pleasure, to remove them and appoint others in their stead ; and that they should appoint reasonable salaries, perquisites and other rewards, for their labor or services ; and that such officers should be sworn, before they act, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places ; and declared, that the treasurer and secretary for the time being, should be incapable of being members of the said corporation : and granted to the said corporation that it should be lawful for them, their officers and agents, to transport and convey into the said province, such of his majesty's subjects and foreigners, as were willing to go and inhabit and reside there ; and declared all persons born within the said province, and their children and posterity, to be free denizens, as if they had been born within any of his majesty's dominions. And empowered the said common council, in the name of the corporation, and under their common seal, to distribute, convey and assign, and set over such particular portions of the said lands, tenements and hereditaments, unto such of his majesty's subjects, and others, willing to live in the said colony, upon such terms, and for such

estates, and upon such rents, reservations and conditions, as the same might lawfully be granted ; and as to the said common council, or the major part of them, should seem fit and proper ; provided that no grant should be made of any part of the said lands, unto, or in trust for, or for the benefit of any member of the said corporation : and that no greater quantity of the said lands be granted either entirely or in parcels, to, or to the use of, or in trust for any one person, than five hundred acres ; and declared that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, should be absolutely null and void. And granted, that the said corporation for the term of twenty one years from the date of the letters patent, should have powers to erect and constitute judicatures and courts of record, or other courts, to be held in his majesty's name, for the hearing and determining of all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, complaints, actions, matters, causes and things whatsoever, arising or happening within the said province, or between persons inhabiting or residing there, and for awarding and making out executions thereupon ; and directed the said corporation to register or cause to be registered, all leases, grants, plantings, conveyances, settlements and improvements whatsoever, as should at any time be made of any lands, tenements or hereditaments, within the said province ; and yearly transmit authentic accounts thereof, unto the auditor of the planta-

tions, or his deputy, and to the surveyor of South-Carolina, to inspect and survey the same, to ascertain the quit-rents that should become due according to the reservation before mentioned; but not to have, or take any gratuity, fee or reward, for such survey or inspection, on forfeiture of their offices; with a proviso that all leases, grants or conveyances, to be made of any lands within the said province, or a memorial containing the substance or effect thereof, should be registered with the auditor of the plantations, within one year from the date thereof; otherwise that the same should be void. And directed, that all rents, issues or profits, which should come to the said corporation, issuing or arising out of, or from the said province, should be applied in such manner as would most improve and enlarge the said colony, and best answer the good purposes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other charges about the same; and directed the said corporation from time to time, to give in to one of the secretaries of state, and to the commissioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progress of the said colony. And directed, that the said common council should from time to time, for the said term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, have power to appoint all such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers and officers, civil and military, both by sea and land, within the said district, as they should think fit and needful for the government of the said

colony, except such officers as should be appointed for managing, collecting and receiving such of his majesty's revenues as should arise within the said province, with a proviso, that every governor so appointed, should be approved by his majesty, and qualify himself, as often as governors in America, are by law required to do, and give security for observing the acts of parliament relating to trade and navigation; and obeying all instruction from his majesty or any acting under his authority, pursuant to the said acts. And granted, that the said corporation, for the said term of twenty-one years, from the date of the said letters patent, should have power by any commander or other officer for that purpose appointed, to train, instruct, exercise and govern the militia, for the special defence and safety of the said colony; to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture, the inhabitants of the said colony; and in time of actual war, invasion or rebellion, to use and exercise the law martial, and also to erect forts, and fortify any place or places within the said colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary ammunition, provision and stores of war for offence and defence, and from time to time to commit the custody and government of them to such person or persons, as to them should seem meet; declaring that the governor or commander in chief of South-Carolina, should have the chief command

of the militia of Georgia, and that they should observe his orders. And granted, that the said corporation should have power to import or export their goods, at or from any port or ports that should be appointed by his majesty within the said province for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other port in Carolina. And declared, that after the end of the said twenty-one years, such form of government and method of making laws, statutes and ordinances for the government of the said province and its inhabitants, should be observed and established within the same, as his majesty, his heirs and successors should ordain and appoint, and should be agreeable to law; and that after the end of the said twenty-one years, the governor and all officers, civil and military, within the said province, should be appointed by his majesty, his heirs and successors.

In pursuance of this charter, the trustees (of whom lord Purcival was president) met in London about the middle of July, for the purpose of fixing on some fit person to superintend the settlement of the colony, and to establish rules for its government: and in order to fulfil the intents and purposes therein expressed, it was thought necessary for the trustees to send over such poor people and foreign protestants, as were willing to live in Georgia, not only to cultivate the lands, but at the same time to strengthen the other colonies. The inhabitants were to be consid-

ered as planters and soldiers, and were provided with arms for their defence, as well as tools for cultivation ; and a due portion of attention was occasionally to be turned to the exercise of both. Towns were to be laid out for their settlements, and lands allotted to each of them for their maintenance as near to these towns as convenient, that they might never have occasion to be too far distant from their towns, which were to be regarded as their garrisons, so that each man might reach his post of defence at short notice, in case of emergency. As the military strength of the province was particularly to be taken care of, it was deemed necessary to establish such tenures of lands as might most effectually preserve the number of planters, or soldiers, equal to the number of lots of land within a narrow compass ; therefore each lot of land was to be considered as a military fief, and to contain so much in quantity as should be deemed equal to the support of a planter and his family—fifty acres were judged sufficient, and not too much for that purpose, and provision was made to prevent an accumulation of several lots into the claim or possession of any one person, lest the garrison should be lessened and the defence weakened ; and likewise to prevent a division of these lots into smaller parcels, since each lot when entire, was deemed no more than sufficient for one planter, but if sub-divided, would be too scanty for a subsistence, and become useless.

In the infancy of the colony, the lands were to be granted in tail male, in preference to any other tenure, as the most likely to answer these purposes; for if the grants were to be made in tail general, it was thought that the strength of each township would soon be diminished, in as much as every female heir in tail, who was unmarried, would have been entitled to one lot, and consequently have taken from the garrison the portion of one soldier; and by intermarriages, several lots might have been united into one; and if such tenant in tail general, had several daughters, his lot must have been divided equally amongst them as coparceners. Other inconveniencies were thought likely to arise from estates in tail general: women being incapable of acting as soldiers, or serving on juries; these duties and many others, such as watchings, wardings, &c. would return so much oftener to each man, in proportion as the number of the men in the township was lessened, and by that means become very burthensome to the remaining male lot holders; and in case of an attack from an enemy, the township would be less able to make a defence; and as it was not thought proper to grant estates in tail general, it appeared to be more inconvenient to grant them in fee simple, which estate would have been attended with all the objections before mentioned, incident to estates in tail general. The right of alienation being inseparable from any estate in fee, the grantee

might have sold, mortgaged, or aliened his lands to whomsoever he thought fit, which was a power not to be intrusted with the people sent over, for the following reasons :

- 1st. From a consideration of their condition.
- 2d. From a consideration of the purposes for which they were sent.
- 3d. From a consideration of the persons to whom lands might be aliened.—And
- 4th. From a consideration that it might occasion a monopoly of lands contrary to the true intent and meaning of the charter.

As to the first ; the persons to be sent over were poor indigent people, who had for the most part, so indiscreetly managed what they had previously been the owners of, that it did not seem safe or proper to entrust so absolute a property in their hands, at least in the infancy of the colony ; until by a careful and industrious deportment, they had given some evidences to induce a belief that they would prove more judicious and discreet managers for the future.

As to the second ; they were sent over to inhabit, cultivate and secure by a personal residence, the lands granted to them within the province ; and they voluntarily engaging so to do, and in expectation that they would perform these engagements, they were to be maintained at the expense of the public, or the trustees, during their voyage, and their passages paid, and were provided with tools, arms, seeds, and other necessaries,

and supported from the public store ; for which reasons the public may be said to have purchased these people, for a valuable consideration. Their personal residence and all the industry and labor they would bestow in the cultivation of the province, for a considerable time, would not compensate the public and the proprietors for their expenses.

As to the third ; it was thought unsafe to grant them such an estate, as it might be the means of introducing such sort of people as would defeat what the trustees had always at heart, viz. the preservation of the protestant religion in that province, which was necessary to be taken care of, both on a political and religious account ; the French lying on the west, and the Spaniards on the south of the province of Georgia.

As to the fourth ; a monopoly of several lots into one hand would necessarily have been the consequence of a free liberty of buying and selling lands within the province, which would have been directly contrary to the objects, intent and meaning of the charter, whereby the grant of lands to any one person, is limited to five hundred acres.

And a further inconvenience seemed likely to arise in every case, where the tenant in fee died without issue, or without having disposed of his lot by will ; the heir general who might have the right to it, might not happen to be found out for many years after, especially if he was a foreign

protestant, and in that time the buildings and improvements might fall into ruins, to the great damage and inconvenience of the adjoining lot-holders. These restraints were intended for the good of the whole, and whenever particular cases required it, they were to be taken off and dispensed with : and upon any application for leave to alienate lands, licences were always to be granted under certain restrictions for that purpose ; and when the succession of females became less dangerous to the province, by the growing strength and increase of the people, and by the security provided for it by his majesty's forces, the trustees resolved then, to enlarge the tenures of the lands to estates in tail general.

The tenures being thus settled, it was thought necessary to require of the inhabitants, that they should cultivate their lands within such given time as should be specified in their grants ; and in order to raise raw silk, which was contemplated as one of the principal objects of attention, a certain proportion of white mulberry trees were to be planted, and in their respective grants, ten years were to be allowed for the cultivation, and one hundred white mulberry trees were to be planted on every ten acres of land when cleared ; with a power vested in the trustees to re-enter such lands as should remain uncultivated. And as other persons applied to the trustees for grants of land, in order to come over and settle at their own expense, particular grants were made under

the same tenure, and on the following conditions ; viz. that they should within twelve months from the date of their grants, go to and arrive in Georgia, with one man servant for every fifty acres granted them, and should with such servants abide, settle, inhabit and continue there for three years : that they should within ten years, clear and cultivate one fifth part of the land granted them ; and within the next ten years, clear and cultivate three fifth parts more of the said lands, and plant one thousand white mulberry trees upon every one hundred acres thereof when cleared ; and that they should not at any time hire, keep, lodge, board or employ any negro within the colony of Georgia, on any conditions whatsoever, without special leave from the trustees : which conditions were readily approved of, and counterparts executed by all such as chose to become adventurers ; and to those who desired to name their successors on failure of male issue, special covenants were entered into by the trustees for that purpose, agreeable to their own propositions ; and by way of encouragement to their male servants to behave well, like covenants were entered into, to grant to every such man servant, when requested thereunto by any writing under the hand and seal of the master, twenty acres of land under the same tenure.

In the execution of this laudable plan, the trustees having first set the example themselves, by largely contributing towards the scheme, under-

took to solicit benefactions from others, and to apply the money towards clothing, arming, purchasing utensils for cultivation, and transporting such poor people as should consent to go over and begin a settlement. They did not confine their views to the subjects of Great-Britain alone, but wisely and humanely opened a door also, for oppressed and indigent protestants from other nations. To prevent any misapplication or abuse of the charitable donations, they agreed to deposit the money in the bank of England, and to enter in a book to be kept for that purpose, the names of all the charitable benefactors, together with the sums contributed by each of them ; and to bind and oblige themselves, and their successors in office, to lay a statement of the money received and expended, before the lord chancellor of England, the lords chief justices of the king's bench and common pleas, the master of the rolls, and the lord chief baron of the exchequer.

When this scheme of the trustees with respect to the settlement of Georgia, was made public, the well wishers of mankind in every part of Great-Britain, highly approved of an undertaking so humane and disinterested. To consult the public happiness, regardless of private interest, and to stretch forth a bountiful hand for the relief of their distressed fellow-creatures, were considered as examples of uncommon benevolence and virtue ; therefore worthy of general

imitation. The ancient Romans, famous for their courage and magnanimity, ranked the planting of colonies amongst their noblest works, which added greater lustre to their empire, than the most glorious wars and victories. By the latter, old cities and countries were plundered and destroyed ; by the former, new ones were founded and established : the latter ravaged the dominions of enemies, and depopulated the world ; the former improved new territories, provided for unfortunate friends, and added strength to the state. The benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia, perhaps may challenge the annals of any nation, to produce a design more generous and praise-worthy than the one which they had undertaken. They voluntarily offered their money, labor and time, for promoting what appeared to them, the good of others, leaving themselves no other reward, than the gratification arising from virtuous actions. Amongst other great ends which they had in view, was the civilization of the savages : if their regulations were not effectual in accomplishing the laudable purposes they had in contemplation ; if their plan of settlement proved too narrow and circumscribed, they are nevertheless, entitled to all the credit due to their praise-worthy intentions, and disinterested motives. In conformity with the charter, a common seal was ordered to be made ; the device was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing

the rivers *Alatamaha* and *Savannah*, the north-eastern and south-western boundaries of the province; between them the genius of the colony was seated, with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with the inscription, COLONIA GEORGIA AUG: on the other side was a representation of silk worms, some beginning and others having finished their webbs, with the motto, NON SIBI SED ALIIS; a very proper emblem, signifying that the nature of the establishment was such, that neither the first trustees, nor their successors, could have any views to their own interest, it being entirely designed for the benefit and happiness of others. The intentions of the trustees, principally, in forming this colony, were to provide for poor people, who were incapable of subsisting themselves and families in Europe, and to settle a frontier to South-Carolina, which was much exposed by the small number of its white inhabitants; it was therefore determined to prohibit the use of negro slaves: it was also thought impossible that the poor who should be sent from hence, and the foreign persecuted protestants, who must go in a manner naked into the colony, could be able to purchase or subsist negroes if they had them, and that it would be a charge too great for the trustees to undertake; and they would thereby be disabled from sending white people, whose habits they intended to change to industry. The first cost of a negro

would be about thirty pounds sterling, and this sum would be sufficient to pay the passage over, provide tools and other necessities, and defray the other charges and subsistence of a white man for one year ; in which time it might be hoped that the planters own labor would produce him some subsistence ; consequently the purchase money of every negro, abstracting the expense of subsisting him as well as his master, by being applied that way, would prevent the sending over a white man, who would be a security to the province ; whereas the negro would render that security more precarious. It was thought the white man, by having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labor himself, and that a great portion of his time would be employed in keeping the negro at work, and in watching against any danger he or his family might apprehend from the slave ; and that the planters wife and children would by the decease or absence of the husband, be at the mercy of the negro. It was also apprehended that the Spaniards at Augustine, would be continually inveigling away their negroes and encouraging them to insurrections : That the first might be easily accomplished, has been confirmed in many instances in Carolina, and an asylum furnished by the Spaniards in times of profound peace ; and insurrections had been excited from the same source to the great terror of the people, and even endangered the loss of the province, though it had been established so

many years. The white population was scarcely equal to a secure defence against internal invasion. It was also calculated that the sort of produce designed to be attended to in the colony, would not require such labor as to make the assistance of negroes necessary : the produce of Carolina was chiefly rice, consequently required the labor of that description of people, to make it profitable ; whereas the silk and other products, intended by the trustees, to be encouraged in Georgia, were of that light kind of work, where poor women and children might be usefully and advantageously employed. It was also apprehended that if the persons who would go over to Georgia at their own expense, were permitted to own negroes, it would dispirit and ruin the poor people who could not purchase them, and who by their numbers, were intended to give strength to the province. That upon the admission of negroes, the wealthy planters would, as in other colonies, be induced to absent themselves to more pleasant places of residence, leaving the care of their plantations and negroes to overseers ; that the poor planter sent on charity, from a desire to have slaves as well as those who settled at their own expense ; if leave was given to alienate, and mortgage his land to the negro merchant for the eventual payment, or at least become a debtor for the purchase of negroes ; and under these weights and discouragements would be induced to sell his slaves again upon

any necessity, and would leave the province and his lot to his creditors ; consequently all his property would be swallowed up and himself ruined. The admission of negroes in Georgia, would also facilitate the desertion of Carolina slaves, and instead of proving a frontier, would promote the evil which was intended to be checked, and give strength to the Spanish force at Augustine. In fine, it was the intention of the trustees, to people the new colony with industrious farmers, who should by their example, bring up their children in the same habits. The introduction of negroes would increase a propensity for idleness among the poor planters and their families, contrary to the fundamental principles of their charter and constitution.

When the trustees had made these dispositions and arrangements, and were enabled by benefactions from several private persons ; on the 3d of October, 1732, it was resolved to send over one hundred and fourteen persons, men, women and children, being such as were in decayed circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any business in England, and who if in debt, had leave from their creditors to go, and such as were recommended by the minister, church wardens, and overseers of their respective parishes. James Edward Oglethorpe, esquire, one of the trustees, accompanied them at his own expense, for the purpose of forming the settlement. On the 24th of the same month, the people were all question-

ed, whether any of them had any objections to the terms and conditions proposed : four of them desired that their daughters might inherit as well as their sons, and that the widows dower might be considered. The trustees resolved, that every person who should desire it, should have the privilege of naming a successor to the lands granted to them, who in case they should die without male issue, should hold the same to them and their male heirs forever ; and that the widows should have their thirds as in England ; with which resolutions the people being made acquainted, were well satisfied, and executed articles under their hands and seals, testifying their consent thereto, which agreements were deposited in the office of the trustees.

The trustees prepared forms of government, agreeably to the powers given them by the charter. They established under their seal, a court of judicature for trying criminal and civil causes, by the name and stile of the town court. They also appointed magistrates, bailiffs, a recorder, constables and tything-men.

On the 16th of November, 1732, the reverend Mr. Herbert, a clergyman of the church of England, and a man from Piedmont, engaged by the trustees to instruct the people in the art of winding silk, and one hundred and fourteen persons, embarked on board of the ship *Anne*, captain Thomas. Several of the trustees went to gravesend, for the purpose of ascertaining whether

they were well accommodated and provided for; and left them well satisfied. At the time of their embarkation, five thousand acres of land were granted to three of the colonists, in trust for them or their survivors; to make grants from time to time to every man of twenty years of age or upwards, who might afterwards arrive in Georgia; to be divided into fifty acre lots, on the terms heretofore specified. Having every thing furnished them by the corporation, which was requisite for building and cultivation, and having nothing to risque but what arose from a change of climate, they could not properly be called adventurers. Mr. Oglethorpe was clothed with power to exercise the functions of a governor over the new colony, and proved a zealous and active promoter of the settlement.

CHAPTER II.

ON the 13th of January, 1733, the ship *Anne* arrived in Charleston, where Oglethorpe and his party were received with the greatest hospitality by the governor and council. Governor Johnson, sensible of the great advantages that must accrue to Carolina from this new colony, gave all the encouragement and assistance in his

power to forward the settlement. Many of the Carolinians sent them provisions ; also hogs and cattle to begin their stock. William Bull and Jonathan Bryan, men of knowledge and experience, accompanied Oglethorpe, and the rangers and scout boats were ordered to attend them to Georgia. The general assembly on the motion of governor Johnson, voted that Oglethorpe should be furnished at the public expense with one hundred and four head of breeding cattle, twenty-five hogs and twenty barrels of rice ; and sent boats to carry these supplies to Savannah. some scout boats were also ordered with a body of rangers, to protect the adventurers from the insults of the natives, while they were preparing houses and fortifications, to defend themselves. Oglethorpe had written to the trustees, informing them of his safe arrival in Charleston, with the loss of only two children at sea. After they had landed at Yamacraw bluff, Oglethorpe, Bryan and Bull, explored the country, and having found this high spot of ground, situated on a navigable river well suited for the purpose, they fixed on it as the most convenient and healthy situation for the settlers. On this hill he marked out a town, and from the Indian name of the river, which run past it, called it Savannah.

The following letter was written by governor Oglethorpe, to the trustees in London :

*“From the camp near Savannah, the
10th February, 1733.*

“GENTLEMEN,

“I GAVE you an account in my last, of our arrival in Charles-town. The governor and assembly have given us all possible encouragement. Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January, where I lodged them in some new barracks built for the soldiers, whilst I went myself to view the Savannah river; I fixed upon a healthy situation about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms an half moon, along the south side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country about five or six miles, and along the river side about a mile. Ships that draw twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river side in the centre of this plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the trustees cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river. For about six miles up into the country the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the first of February; at night their tents were got up. ’Till the 10th we were taken up in un-

loading and making a crane which I then could not get finished, so took off the hands and set some to the fortification and began to fell the woods. I have marked out the town and common, half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the afternoon. A little Indian nation the only one within fifty miles, is not only in amity, but desirous to be subjects to his majesty king George, to have lands given them among us, and to breed their children at our schools; their chief and his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation, desire to be instructed in the christian religion.”

I am gentlemen, &c.

On the 20th of the same month, governor Oglethorpe wrote another letter to the trustees, of which the following is an extract :

“OUR people are all in perfect health ; I chose the situation for the town upon an high ground forty feet perpendicular above high water mark ; the soil, dry and sandy ; the water of the river, fresh, and springs coming out of the side of the hill. I pitched upon this place not only for the pleasantness of the situation, but because, from the above mentioned and other signs, I thought it healthy ; for it is sheltered from the western and southern winds, (the worst in this country) by vast woods of pine trees, many of which are an hundred, and few under

seventy feet high. There is no moss on the trees, though in most parts of Carolina they are covered with it, and it hangs down two or three feet from them. The last and fullest conviction of the healthiness of the place, was, that an Indian nation who knew the nature of this country chose it for their situation."

When his excellency gave this account of the moss, he had not extended his travels into the swamps of Georgia, nor had the period of his residence given him an opportunity of judging correctly of the most unhealthy winds. A small fort was erected on the bank of Savannah river, as a place of refuge, and some guns were mounted on it for the defence of the colony. The people were employed in falling trees and building huts, and Oglethorpe animated and encouraged them, by the exposure of his person to all the hardships which the poor objects of his compassion endured : he formed them into a company of militia, appointed officers, and furnished them with arms and ammunition. To show the Indians how expert they were in the use of arms, he frequently exercised them ; and as they had been disciplined before hand by the sergeants of the guards in London, they performed the manual exercise, little inferior to the regular troops. Having put his colony in the best possible situation for comfort and defence, the next object of his attention was, to treat with the natives for a share of their landed possessions.—The principal tribe

that at this time occupied the territory of which he wished to gain possession, were the upper and lower creeks ; the former were numerous and strong, the latter, by disease and war, had been reduced to a small number : both tribes together were computed at about twenty-five thousand men, women and children. These Indians, according to a treaty formerly made with governor Nicolson, laid claim to the lands lying south-west of Savannah river, and to procure their friendship for this infant colony, was an object of the highest consequence. But as the tribe settled at Yamacraw was inconsiderable, Oglethorpe judged it expedient to have the other tribes also, to join with them in the treaty. To accomplish this union, he found an Indian, or rather half breed woman, named Mary, who had married a trader from Carolina, by the name of Musgrove, and who could speak both the English and Creek languages : perceiving that she had some influence amongst the Indians, and might be made useful as an interpreter in forming treaties of alliance with them, he first purchased her friendship with presents, and then allowed her a salary of one hundred pounds a year as a reward for her services. By her assistance he summoned a pretty general meeting of the chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Savannah, in order to procure their consent to the peaceable settlement of his colony. At this congress, when fifty chiefs were present, Oglethorpe represented to them the great power,

wisdom and wealth of the English nation, and the many advantages that would accrue to the Indians in general, from a connection and friendship with them ; and as they had plenty of lands, he hoped they would freely resign a share of them to his people, who were come to settle amongst them, for their benefit and instruction. After having distributed some presents, which was then considered as a necessary preliminary to a treaty* of peace and friendship, an agreement was entered into, and Tomochichi, in the name of the creek nation, addressed him with the following speech :

“ Here is a little present ; I give you a buffaloe’s skin adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, which I desire you to accept, because the eagle is an emblem of speed, and the buffaloe of strength : the English are swift as the bird, and strong as the beast, since like the former, they flew over vast seas to the uttermost parts of the earth ; and like the latter, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them : the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love ; the buffaloe’s skin is warm, and signifies protection ; therefore, I hope the English will love and protect their little families.”

Oglethorpe accepted the present, a treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, the

* See appendix No. 2.

colonists appeared satisfied with their condition, and every thing seemed to promise prosperity to the new colony.

When Oglethorpe came over from England he was not vested with full powers, consequently the ratification of the treaty was to be made in England. Soon after his arrival he sent runners to the different towns, and invited a convention of the kings and chiefs of the creek nation, and entered into a treaty of amity and commerce with them, making a transfer of the whole nation and all their lands, and agreeing to live under and become the subjects of his majesty's government in common with the white colonists of Georgia. It was further stipulated that a free and complete right and title, was granted to the trustees for all the lands between Savannah and Alata-maha rivers, extending west to the extremity of the tide water, and including all the islands on the coast from Tybee to St Simons' inclusively, reserving to themselves the islands of Ossabaw, Sapeloe and St. Catharines, for the purposes of hunting, bathing and fishing—also the tract of land lying between Pipe-maker's bluff and Pally-chuckola creek, above Yamacraw bluff, now Savannah : which lands the Indians reserved to themselves for an encampment, when they came to visit their beloved friends at Savannah. Stipulations were entered into, regulating the price of goods, and the value of peltry, which was to be received in exchange ; and that the number of

licences should be regulated by the number of principal towns ; each of which was to have one trader. All criminal cases were to be tried by the laws of England, and the offences punished accordingly : fugitives were in all cases to be delivered up, and a reward fixed for apprehending runaway slaves. This treaty was signed by Oglethorpe on the part of the king of England, and by Tomochichi and the other chiefs and head men on the part of the Creek nation ; it was transmitted to the trustees and formally ratified on the 18th of October, 1733. The reservation of the islands and tract of land mentioned in this treaty, occasioned a dispute which had well nigh cost the effusion of all the human blood the colony contained, and produced the most tedious and expensive suit at law, which has ever been litigated in America. Having however determined to connect dates rather than circumstances, this subject will be particularly noticed in its proper place.

It was obligatory on the trustees to exhibit an account annually on the 9th of June, to the lord chancellor and other persons named in the charter, of their procedure ; by which it appears that the number of persons sent over on the charity of the trustees the first year, amounted to one hundred and fifty-two, of whom sixty-one were males capable of bearing arms. The lands granted in trust this year to poor people, amounted to five thousand acres ; and to persons coming at

their own expense, four thousand four hundred and sixty. The money received from private contributions, amounted to three thousand seven hundred and twenty-three pounds thirteen shillings and seven pence ; of which the trustees expended for the benefit of the colony, two thousand two hundred and fifty-four pounds seventeen shillings and nine-pence ; exhibiting an account of it to the lord chancellor and to the lord chief justice of common pleas, pursuant to their charter, and carrying the remainder into their succeeding account.

In the mean time the people were employed at Savannah in palisading the town and building houses. A public garden was laid off to the eastward of the town, which was designed as a nursery to supply the people with mulberry trees, vines, oranges, olives and other necessary plants. The gardener who had the care of it was employed and paid by the trustees. A crane was made for landing goods upon the bluff, from which there is a commanding view of the river a considerable distance below the town. On the east end of Tybee island, at the entrance of the river, a beacon was erected ninety feet high. Fort Argyle was built at the narrow passage on the Ogechee above the mouth of Canouchee, to protect the settlement against an inland invasion from Augustine. A kind of manchecolas or stockade fort was built at Skidaway narrows, and garrisoned by a detachment of captain Noble

Jones's marines from Wormsloe : an avenue from this fort was opened to Mr. Whitefield's orphan house, which was built soon after under the direction of Mr. James Habersham.

The British parliament foreseeing the necessity of strengthening the new colony, as a security to those farther north, ordered the sale of some lands at St. Christophers, and applied ten thousand pounds to encourage the settlement ; and in September and October 1733, the trustees sent over two embarkations, amounting to three hundred and forty-one persons, principally persecuted protestants from Saltzburgh in Germany.

Some very pleasing accounts of the country and settlement were sent over by some of the people to their friends in England, and the trustees were informed that some persons had made offers in Great-Britain of money and lands, in the name of the trustees, without their knowledge or authority ; giving an extravagant description of the country ; enticing laborers to leave profitable employments and pleasant situations, and embark in an untried scheme, where they might be disappointed and perhaps ruined : the trustees disavowed the authority which had been assumed in making such offers, or holding out any particular inducements to increase the population of the colony, at the expense of truth ; and directed these sentiments to be published in the English news-papers, which was accordingly done.

In 1733, a pamphlet appeared in London,

entitled, "A new and accurate account of the provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia." The author did not think fit to favor the public with his name; but as it was circulated very generally through the kingdom, uncontradicted; asserting its origin from the best authorities, and pretending an intimate acquaintance with the measures and designs of the trustees; this high drawn picture received general credit. After an high encomium upon the trustees, the writer says:—"The air of Georgia is healthy, being always serene and pleasant, never subject to excessive heat or cold, or sudden changes of weather; the winter is regular and short, and the summer cooled by refreshing breezes: it neither feels the cutting north-west wind that the Virginians complain of, nor the intense heats of Spain, Barbary, Italy and Egypt. The soil will produce any thing with very little culture: all sorts of corn yield an amazing increase; one hundred fold is the common estimate, though the husbandry is so slight, that they can only be said to scratch the earth, and merely cover the seed. All the best sort of cattle and fowls are multiplied without number, and therefore without price. Vines are natives here; the woods near Savannah are easily cleared; many of them have no underwood, and the trees do not stand generally thick on the ground, but at considerable distances asunder. When you fall the timber to make tar, or for any other use, the roots will rot in four or five years, and in the

mean time you may pasture the ground ; but if you would only destroy the timber, it is done by half a dozen strokes of an axe, surrounding each tree a little above the root ; in a year or two the water getting into the wound, rots the timber, and a brisk gust of wind fells many acres for you in an hour ; of which you may make one bright bon-fire. Such will be frequently here the fate of the pine, the walnut, the cyprus, the oak and the cedar. Such an air and soil can only be described by a poetical pen, because there is no danger of exceeding the truth ; therefore take W allers description of an island in the neighborhood of Carolina, to give you an idea of this happy climate.”

“ The spring which but salutes us here,
Inhabits there and courts them all the year ;
Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same tree live ;
At once they promise what at once they give.
So sweet the air so moderate the clime,
None sickly lives, or dies before his time.
Heav’n sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst,
To show how all things were created first.”

“ The Indians bring many a mile the whole of a deer’s flesh, which they sell to the people who live in the country, for the value of *six pence* sterling; and a wild turkey of *forty pounds weight*, for the value of *two-pence*.” The author when recommending the Georgia adventure to gentlemen embarrassed in their pecuniary circumstances, who must labor at home or do worse, states the following objections :—“ If people cannot get

bread here for their labor, how will their condition be mended in Georgia ?” which he solves in the following manner—“ The answer is easy ; part of it is well attested, and part self evident ; they have land there for nothing, and that land so fertile, that as is said before, they receive an hundred fold increase for taking a very little pains. Give ten acres of good land in England, to one of these helpless persons, and I doubt not his ability to make it support himself and family by his own labor, without letting it to another ; but the difference between *no rent* and *rack'd rent*, is the difference between *eating* and *starving* ”

This highly colored picture of the American terrestrial paradise, uncontaminated by the fall of man, had well nigh turned the heads of the English peasantry, and with the additional evidence of the trustees, Great-Britain would have been nearly depopulated. The trustees however represented that the description of the country was greatly exaggerated, and thus composed once more, for a time at least, the inflamed fancies of the people.

Oglethorpe having placed his settlers in the best possible state of security, and provided for the accommodation of their wants during his absence ; sailed in April 1734 for England, and invited the Indian king, with whom he had formed the treaty to accompany him : to this Tomochichi consented, and himself, his queen and some other Indians, accompanied Oglethorpe to Great-Britain.

On their arrival in London, the Indian chiefs were introduced to the king, while many of the nobility were present: Tomochichi struck with astonishment at the grandeur of the British court, addressed the king in the following words :—“ This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house and the number of your people ; I am come in my old days, though I cannot expect to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the lower and upper Creeks, that they may be instructed in the language of the English. These are feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flyeth round our nations: these feathers are emblems of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a token of everlasting peace : O great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nation.” To which the king replied : “ I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you came ; and I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them, and accept very gratefully of this present, an indication of their good dispositions to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between the Creeks and my subjects, and shall be glad on any occasion to show you marks of my particular friendship.”

While these Indians were in England, nothing was neglected that might serve to engage their affections, and fill them with just notions of the greatness and power of the British nation. The nobility, curious to see them, and observe their manners, entertained them magnificently at their tables; wherever they went multitudes flocked around them, shaking hands with the rude warriors of the forest, giving them little presents, and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility: twenty pounds sterling a week were allowed them by the crown while they remained in England, and when they returned, it was computed they carried presents with them to the value of four hundred pounds sterling.— After staying four months, and admiring the splendor of the British court and their sovereign, they were carried to Gravesend in one of his majesty's carriages, where they embarked for Georgia, highly pleased with the grandeur and generosity of the nation, and promising perpetual fidelity to its interest.

It was supposed that this kind method of treating barbarians, was more politic than that of overawing them by harsh and forcible measures; that to promote the settlement of the colonies, nothing could be more effectual than the purchase of Indian friendship by mildness, a repetition of presents, and other friendly offices. This ill judged policy will be treated more largely in its proper place.

Tomochichi acknowledged that the governor of the world, or *great spirit*, had given the English great wisdom, power and riches ; that they wanted nothing : he had given Indians great extent of territories ; yet they wanted every thing : and he exerted his influence in prevailing on the Creeks to resign such lands to the English as were of no use to themselves, and to allow them to settle amongst them, that they might be supplied with useful articles for cultivation and necessities of life. He told them that the English were a generous nation, and would trade with them on the most honorable and advantageous terms ; that they were brethren and friends, and would protect them against danger, and go to war with them against their enemies.

Before Tomochichi left England he requested of the trustees that the weights, measures, prices, and qualities of all goods to be exchanged by them for their deer-skins and other peltry, might be settled by established rules ; that none might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia, without a licence from the trustees, in order that if they were in any respect defrauded by the traders, they might know where to apply for redress ; and that there might be one store house in each town, to supply them with such goods as they might want to purchase, from whence the trader might be obliged to supply them at first cost. The Indians alledged as a reason for this application, that the traders had demanded ex-

orbitant prices for their goods, and defrauded them in their weights and measures ; and that to such impositions were to be ascribed the animosities and quarrels between the English and Indians, which had frequently ended in war, prejudicial to both powers.

The government of South-Carolina had passed a law on this point, the 20th of August 1731, entitled an act for the better regulation of the Indian trade, and for appointing a commissioner for that purpose with regulations. The trustees hoping that an act of this nature might be effectual in Georgia, prepared an act entitled an act for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia, with the same regulations and provisions, as were in the Carolina act ; which act of Carolina ceased to be in force in Georgia, since it was erected into a distinct independant province, not subject to the laws of that province.

The trustees having received information from the colony, that the most pernicious effects had arisen from the use of spirituous liquors ; that by the abuse of them great disorders had been created amongst the Indians who had been plentifully supplied by the traders, and that by the same cause, a variety of diseases had been produced amongst the white people, as well as disorderly conduct ; prepared an act entitled *an act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandies into the province of Georgia, or*

any kind of spirits or strong waters whatsoever. At the same time they endeavored to supply the stores with strong beer from England, molasses for brewing beer, and with Madeira wines, which the people might purchase at reasonable rates, and which would be more refreshing and wholesome. The magistrates of the town of Savannah were empowered to grant licences to private persons for retailing beer, ale, &c. and the trustees had great reason to believe, that the healthiness of Ebenezer to the northward, and of Frederica to the southward of Savannah, was to be attributed to the prohibition of ardent spirits. Where ardent spirits have been introduced in defiance of the law, and used to excess, the people were neither healthy nor vigorous. These acts, as well as the one prohibiting the use and introduction of slaves into the new colony, were laid before the king in council in the month of January 1735, and ratified.

Though the lands granted by the trustees were to revert to them on failure of male issue, in order to be re-granted, for keeping up a number of men capable of bearing arms; yet the trustees as guardians of the people, when any such failure happened, resolved that the value of the improvements upon the lands of the late occupiers, should be estimated and paid to or for the benefit of the female offspring or nearest kinswoman, and the first case of this kind occurring on the death of Mr. De Ferron, the value of the improvements

he had made on his estate, was on the 5th of February 1735, paid in pursuance of an order to that effect, for the use of his daughter in England, who being destitute, would have been absolutely unable to proceed in the cultivation of her father's lot.

The addition to the population this year, at the trustees expense, were eighty-one; principally Saltzburghers, who joined their countrymen at Ebenezer. Two thousand five hundred acres of land was granted this year to the poor, and one thousand nine hundred acres were granted to such persons as came over on their own account: the contributions for this year amounted to 31,416l. 7s. 7d. sterling.

The attention of Oglethorpe, was at an early period after his arrival in the colony, directed to the opening of a communication to the source of navigation on the Savannah river. He accordingly extended his settlements up that river as far as his claims by treaty would justify. The Saltzburghers, a hardy race of people who had been driven out of the electorate of Bavaria, by persecution, on account of their adherence to the tenets of the protestant religion, were settled about Ebenezer, twenty-five miles from Savannah—the lands between Ebenezer and the river of briers, (brier creek) belonged to a tribe of Indians called Uchees, who refused to dispose of them. Two forts were built on the north-east side of the river which answered the purpose.

Establishments were made at mount pleasant, silver bluff—Moore's fort was built at a place called by the natives *Savannah Town*, seven miles above New-Windsor, and near the falls. The trustees ordered the town of Augusta to be laid off in 1735, and garrisoned in 1736: several ware-houses were built and furnished with goods suitable for the Indian trade—boats were built by the inhabitants calculated to carry about ten thousand weight of peltry; making four or five voyages annually to Charleston. Augusta became a general resort for the Indian traders in the spring, where they purchased annually about two thousand pack-horse loads of peltry: and including towns-men, pack-horse-men and servants, it was calculated that six hundred white persons were engaged in this trade. A path was opened to Savannah which was passable on horse back: a stock of cattle was placed at Ebenezer belonging to the trustees, but were neglected for want of horses to attend to them. Amongst the emigrants of the last year (1734) were twenty families of Jews, for whom land was laid off in the neighborhood of Savannah.

The next colonists in 1735, were principally Saltzburghers, who joined the settlement of their compatriots at Ebenezer; these were honest industrious farmers, never complained of their condition or treatment, and appeared to be duly impressed with a sense of their obligations to the trustees.

The Rev. Mr. Boltzius in his letters to Germany, represents Ebenezer to be very healthy—he says that his congregation consisted of one hundred and thirty persons, by which it is supposed he meant grown people, and that only one death occurred in a whole year, and the deceased was a youth : he afterwards mentions their being afflicted by disease, occasioned by opening rice lands, and making a cross-way through Ebenezer swamp ; and that the only part of the settlers who were generally unhealthy in the colony, were the idle and dissipated who lived in and about Savannah.

When Oglethorpe left Georgia, which was in April 1734, the charge of the colony was confided principally to Thomas Causton, who was a bailiff or magistrate, and store-keeper. Other magistrates were associated with him, who were considered nominal characters, entirely under his control. The settlers preferred against him such charges as these—that he had threatened jurors, whose verdicts did not correspond with his inclination or humor ; and being of low origin he became intoxicated with the powers vested in him : he was proud, haughty and cruel ; that he compelled eight freeholders with an officer, to attend at the door of the court-house while it was in session, with their guns and bayonets ; who had orders to rest their firelocks as soon as he appeared : that juries from terror of him could not act according to their con-

sciences : that his head was turned by power and pride ; and that he threatened without distinction, rich and poor, strangers and inhabitants, who dared to oppose his arbitrary proceedings, or claimed their just rights and privileges, with the jail, stocks and whipping post : that he thus rendered his name a terror to the people—he was charged with mis-applying the public money and other property, giving more than their due to his favorites, and withholding the just claims of those who dared to oppose the injustice of his proceedings. The inhabitants of Carolina, had in public and private donations, contributed upwards of 1300*l.* sterling, to aid and encourage the settlement of Georgia ; and seeing the funds dissipated uselessly by Causton, and out of regard to the welfare of their fellow-creatures, persuaded many of them to abandon their settlements in Georgia, and pass over into their province.

In December 1734, Mr. Gordon as chief magistrate, was sent over by the trustees to Savannah : he is represented to have been a man of some talents, and soon became a favorite with the people—they laid their grievances before him, and he made an effort to restore harmony and good order ; but old Causton's cunning soon pointed out an expedient to remove his adversary—Gordon was refused either money or provisions from the public store, which in a short time rendered him incapable of supporting himself and family ; and he was obliged after a stay

of six weeks to return to England—he promised to represent the grievances of the people to the trustees : whether he resigned, or was removed from the office of first bailiff, is not known—Causton however was appointed in his stead. There was amongst the bailiffs, one Henry Parker, a man of mild temper and moderate capacity, of a large family and was dependant on the public store for subsistence—therefore whenever Causton designed to gain a favorite point, he threatened him with the exercise of his power, in withholding subsistence from himself and family : Mr. Christie, the recorder was easily over-ruled by the other two. After Gordon's dismissal or resignation, Mr. Durn was appointed ; he was said to be seventy years of age, and crazed both in body and mind ; he died soon after he was appointed : his successor Robert Gilbert, could neither read nor write, so that after Gordon's departure, Causton met no formidable opposition to his arbitrary proceedings. Captain Joseph Watson, is mentioned amongst the victims of Causton's tyrannical administration : he had brought a charge against this militia officer, for stirring up animosities in the minds of the Indians : he was indicted and brought to trial, in which Causton is represented in the three-fold capacities of witness, advocate and judge. The jury returned twice without finding the prisoner guilty of any crime, but that of having used some *unguarded expressions* : Causton desired the jury to return, find him guil-

ty, and recommend him to the mercy of the court, imagining or supposing he might be lunatic : the jury then found him guilty of *lunacy* : the judge ordered him to prison, where he remained near three years (though he had offered good security) without pronouncing any sentence. Many other instances of the cruelty of this judge are mentioned amongst the grievances of the colonists—among other matters are, that the British nation was deceived with the fame of a happy flourishing colony, and of its being free from that pest and scourge of mankind called *lawyers* ; for want of whose legal assistance, the poor miserable inhabitants were exposed to a more arbitrary government, than was ever exercised in Turkey or Muscovy. Looks were criminal, and the grand sin of opposing justice to authority, was punished without mercy : that a light-house was commenced of wood and the frame was rotten before it was erected ; that the lofty fabric had never been covered and was going to ruins : that prisons and log-houses of various sorts were alternately built and razed, and that most part of them were better calculated for dungeons in the Spanish inquisition, than British goals. Irons, whipping-posts, gibbets, &c. were provided to keep the inhabitants in perpetual terror ; innocence afforded no protection ; and for some time there were more imprisonments, whipping, &c. of the white people, in this *colony of liberty*, than in all British America besides ;

Corn-mills, saw-mills, public roads, trustees plantations, (as they were called) wells, forts, &c. were commenced for the purpose of amusing the world, and maintaining a few creatures who assisted in keeping the poor colonists in subjection. Such were the complaints against the trustees and civil authority, while Oglethorpe was absent. If the code of English law was found unequal to the government of a majority of these people, it was not to be supposed that their vices could be controlled by a mild system, under the administration of a few ignorant magistrates.

During the absence of Oglethorpe from the colony, exertions had been made to cultivate the vine and mulberry, to make wine and silk : those best acquainted with the cultivation of them had been employed, with the assistance of common laborers, on a spot of ground which was enclosed at the east end of Savannah, called the *trustees garden* ; and perhaps a more improper place could not have been fixed on. After being dug up and exposed to a few rains, they found themselves cultivating a poor bed of sand, which in the heat of summer would have roasted an egg. The trees did not flourish and the vines were parched with heat. Having laid off the fifty acre lots for each farmer indiscriminately, several of them in point of quality, corresponded with the garden : the people grew dissatisfied and became clamorous against the trustees, while the colony was yet in the bud. Drunkenness and irregularities

began to prevail in a formidable degree: The law prohibiting strong drink could not be enforced ; the people deemed the use of ardent spirits necessary for the preservation of health.

The principal part of the people who had been sent over at the trustees expense, were picked up in the streets of London, and outcasts from other parts of the kingdom, and would probably have been dissatisfied with the best possible arrangements which could have been made for them ; and that industrious farmers were to be formed out of such materials, immediately after their arrival in Georgia, was one of these extraordinary events, which on common calculation, could not have been expected.

Admitting the humane intentions of the trustees, and allowing them all the credit which is due for their laudable intentions ; perhaps the imagination of man could scarcely have framed a system of rules worse adapted to the circumstances and situation of the poor settlers, and of more pernicious consequence to the prosperity of the province.

The colony was designed to be a barrier to South-Carolina, against the Spanish settlement at Augustine ; they imagined that negroes would rather weaken than strengthen it ; and that the poor colonists would run in debt and ruin themselves by the purchase of slaves. The use of rum was judged pernicious to health, and ruinous to an infant settlement : a free trade with

the Indians, was considered as a thing that would produce quarrels with a powerful nation of savages: such were probably the motives of the trustees in imposing such ill judged and ridiculous restrictions on the colony of Georgia, from which the adjoining colony of South-Carolina, separated only by a narrow river, was entirely free. There the people could buy as many negroes as they pleased; possess by a fee simple title several hundred acres of land, and choose it from the best that was vacant; purchase as much rum as they might desire, deal with the Indians without restriction, and in short they enjoyed all those privileges which were denied to Georgia. The trustees like other distant legislators, who framed their regulations upon speculative principles, were liable to many errors and mistakes; and however good their design, their rules were found unwise, and indeed impracticable.

The Carolinians plainly perceived that these regulations must prove insuperable obstacles to the progress and prosperity of the colony, and therefore from motives of pity, invited the Georgians to cross the Savannah river and settle amongst them, convinced that they could never succeed under such impolitic and oppressive restrictions. Remonstrances were made to the trustees that their garden would neither produce mulberries or grapes, from its extreme poverty, and they seeming sensible of their error, gave orders to choose another spot of ground of better

quality. Abraham De Leon, a jew, who had been many years a vigneron in Portugal, and was a freeholder in Savannah, cultivated several kinds of grapes in his garden, and amongst others, reared the Oporto and Malaga to great perfection : of this he sent home an attested account to the trustees, proposing that if they would lend him, upon such security as he offered, two hundred pounds sterling for three years without interest, he would employ that, and a farther sum of his own, in bringing across the atlantic from Portugal, vines and vignerons ; that he would bind himself to return the money within the time mentioned, and have growing within the colony, forty thousand such vines, which he would furnish to the freeholders at moderate rates—the trustees were satisfied with the security, and accepted the proposal, but the advances were neglected and the design relinquished.

While Oglethorpe was in England in 1735, rules were drawn up by the trustees, for further encouraging the settlement of Georgia ; and that the persons who were transported at the expense of the trustees, might not be misled, copies of these rules were printed and circulated. The trustees intended to lay out another county and build a new town in Georgia. That they would give to such persons as they sent upon their charity ; to every grown male, a watch-coat, musket, and bayonet, hatchet, hammer, hand-saw, shod-shovel or spade, broad-hoe, narrow-hoe, gimblet,

and drawing knife ; and a public grind-stone to each ward or village ; and to each man an iron pot, pot-hooks and frying pan : and for his maintenance for one year, three hundred pounds of beef or pork, one hundred and fourteen pounds of rice, one hundred and fourteen pounds of pease, one hundred and fourteen pounds of flour, forty-four gallons of strong beer, sixty-four quarts of molasses for brewing beer, eighteen pounds of cheese, nine pounds of butter, nine ounces of spice, nine pounds of sugar, five gallons of vinegar, thirty pounds of salt, twelve quarts of lamp oil, and twelve pounds of soap—and to the mothers, wives, children and other females, of twelve years of age and upwards, the same allowances of provisions, &c. with the exception of beer : half allowance for children of seven and under twelve years, and from two to seven years of age, one third : passage paid, sea stores allowed, &c. And the said persons to enter into the following covenants before embarkation—That they would repair on board such ship as should be provided for carrying them to the province of Georgia ; and during the voyage, demean themselves quietly, soberly and obediently, and go to such place in the said province of Georgia, and there obey all such orders as should be given them for the better settling, establishing and governing the said colony : and that for the first twelve months from their landing in the said province, would work and labor in clearing their lands, making ha-

bitations, and necessary defences, and on all other works for the common good and public weal of the said province, at such times, in such manner, and according to such plans and directions, as should be given them. And that they, from and after the expiration of the said twelve months, would, during the next succeeding two years, abide, settle and inhabit in the said province of Georgia; and cultivate the lands which should be to them and their male heirs severally allotted and given, by all such ways and means as according to their several abilities and skill, they should be best able and capable: all such persons were to be settled in the same colony, either in new towns or new villages: those in the towns should have each of them a lot, sixty feet in front and ninety feet in depth, whereon they were to build a house, and have as much land in the country, as in the whole, would make up fifty acres—those in the villages, would each of them have a lot of fifty acres, upon which they were to build their houses; the tenure, fencing, cultivation, &c. of the lands as heretofore mentioned, with a rent charge of two shillings and six-pence sterling on every fifty acre lot, for the support of the colony; but the payment was not to commence until ten years after the grant. None were to have the benefit of the charity fund for their transportation, subsistence, &c. except those of the following description:—1st. Such as were in decayed circumstances, and thereby disabled from following

any profitable business in England, and who if in debt, must obtain the consent of their creditors. 2d. Such as have numerous families of children, if assisted by their respective parishes, and recommended by the minister, church-wardens and overseers thereof. The trustees expected to have a good character of the emigrants, because no drunkards or vicious persons would be taken.—The better to enable the said persons to build the new town, and clear their lands, the trustees allowed every freeholder to take over with him, one male servant or apprentice of the age of eighteen years and upwards, to be bound for no less than four years ; and by way of loan to such freeholder, advanced the charges of passage for such servant or apprentice, and furnished him with the clothing and provision hereafter mentioned, to be delivered in such portions, and at such times, as the trustees should think proper to direct:—A pallet, bolster, blanket, a frock and trowsers of linsey-woolsey, a shirt, frock and trowsers of oznaburgs, a pair of shoes from England, and two pair of country shoes ; two hundred pounds of meat, three hundred and forty-two pounds of rice, pease, or Indian corn—the expenses of which passage, clothing and provisions, were to be reimbursed to the trustees by the master, within the third year from their embarkation from England. And to each man servant and the male heirs of his body forever, and after the expiration of his service, upon a certificate from his master, of his

faithful services, were to be granted twenty acres of land, under such rents and agreements, as shall have been then last granted to any other man servant in like circumstances.

These rules and regulations were entered into the 2d of July, 1735: other conditions were added; to such persons as would carry over ten men servants and settle with them in Georgia, at their own expense, and whose characters the trustees, upon enquiry, should approve of, would be granted five hundred acres of land in tail male, and to descend to the male heirs of their bodies forever, under the yearly rents of twenty shillings sterling for every hundred acres, for the support of the colony; the payment not to commence until ten years after the grant; and the land is so granted upon the following conditions and covenants: that such persons should pay the rent reserved as the same became due, and no part to be unpaid six months after due; that they, within a month of the grant should register the same, or a memorial thereof, with the auditor of the plantations; that they, within twelve months from the grant, should go to and arrive in Georgia, with ten able bodied men servants, being each of the age of twenty years and upwards: that they should abide in Georgia with such men servants three years from the time of registering the grant, building their houses and cultivating their lands: that they should clear and cultivate within ten years from the date of their grants, two hundred acres,

part of the said five hundred, and plant two thousand white mulberry trees, or plants thereupon; and on every hundred of the other three hundred acres, one thousand white mulberry trees, or plants, when cleared, and preserve the same quantity from time to time thereupon; the trustees, obliging themselves to furnish the plants; that they should not alienate the said five hundred acres of land, or any part thereof for any term of years, or any estate or interest in the same, to any person or persons without special leave; that they should not make pot-ash in partnership without leave, but might make it themselves, not in partnership. On the termination of male descendants, who alone could inherit the land thus granted, the land to revert to the trust, and that they should not depart the said province without licence. Each servant serving four years, should be entitled to twenty acres of land, on the conditions before mentioned.

In the year 1735, the British parliament granted large sums of money, for settling and securing the colony of Georgia. The trustees thought it prudent to strengthen the southern part of the province by making a settlement on the Alatomaha river, to which they were the more strongly inclined by a memorial sent to the king from the governor and council of South-Carolina, dated 9th April 1734, wherein; after thanking his majesty for his peculiar favor and protec-

tion, and especially for his most benign care, so wisely calculated for the preservation of South-Carolina, by his royal charter to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia; and after representing the practices of the French and Spaniards, to seduce the Indians who were in amity with South-Carolina; the attention of the French to improve their settlements, and their late increase in number, near Carolina; the defenceless condition of the province, and the danger of the inhabitants from their slaves, and the ruinous situation of the West India trade, in case the French should possess themselves of Carolina; they add that the harbours and ports of Carolina and Georgia, enable his majesty to be absolute master of the passage through the gulf of Florida, and to impede at his pleasure, the transportation home, of the Spanish treasure, which, should his majesty's enemies possess, would then prove so many convenient harbours for them, to annoy a great part of the British trade to America, as well as that which was carried on through the gulf to Jamaica.

The British government having appropriated large sums of money to the settlement of Georgia, and deeming its rapid increase in population of the utmost importance to the other colonies, became more vigorous in their efforts. The first embarkations of poor people, collected from towns and cities, had been found equally idle, and useless members of society abroad, as

they had been at home, and their conduct tended rather to destroy than to promote the trustees intentions. A hardy bold race of men, accustomed to rural economy, and laborious pursuits, they were persuaded would be much better adapted, both for cultivation and defence. To find men possessed of these qualifications, the trustees turned their eyes to Germany and the high lands of Scotland, and resolved to send over a number of Scotts and Germans to their infant province. When they published their terms at Inverness, one hundred and thirty highlanders accepted the proposals, and were transported to Georgia—a township on the Alatamaha, was allotted for the residence of the former ; on which dangerous situation they settled and built a town, which they called New Inverness, (now Darien)—about the same time one hundred and seventy Germans embarked with Oglethorpe, who settled at Ebenezer : so that Georgia had received from the old world, in the space of three years, about six hundred inhabitants, near two hundred of whom were Germans. Afterwards several adventurers from Scotland and Germany, followed their countrymen, and the trustees flattered themselves with the hope of soon seeing their colony in a flourishing condition.

When Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia, the 5th of February 1736, he brought over a number of guns for the batteries and forts, erected and to be

erected at Savannah, Augusta, Frederica, and other places. The fort at Augusta was intended for the protection of the Indian trade, and was considered a proper place for holding treaties with the several Indian tribes. Frederica on St. Simons' island at the mouth of the Alatamaha, was a regular work of Tappay (a composition of oyster-shells and lime) with four bastions, mounted with several pieces of cannon—on the south end of the island ten miles from the fort, a battery called fort St. Simons, was raised, commanding the entrance of Jekyl sound: ten thousand pounds were granted by the British government towards building and garrisoning these works.

The celebrated John Wesley accompanied Oglethorpe to Georgia, with an intention of making religious impressions on the minds of the Indians as well as the colonists. Himself and followers before he left England, were distinguished by a more than common strictness of religious life—they received the sacrament of the Lord's supper every week; observed all the fasts of the church; visited the prisons; rose at 4 o'clock in the morning and refrained from all amusements. From the exact method in which they disposed of every hour, they acquired the appellation of methodists, by which their followers have since been denominated. Wesley had drawn over a considerable number of proselytes and created many unpleasant divisions amongst

the people in Georgia ; he was charged with requiring too much of their time from necessary labor, to attend his prayers, meetings and sermons, at improper hours, tending to propagate a spirit of indolence and hypocrisy amongst the abandoned, by adhering to his novelties. That he had an undue influence over the public funds, which was exercised exclusively in favor of his own sect, and that he excommunicated all such as differed with him in his creed and shut them out from religious ordinances, contrary to the spirit and tenderness authorised by the christian religion. He was also charged with an attempt to establish confessions, penance, mortifications, &c. and appointed deaconesses, with sundry other innovations, which he called *apostolick constitutions* : that his schemes seemed judiciously calculated to debase and depress the minds of the people, to break down the spirit of liberty, and humble them with fastings, penances, drinking water, and a thorough subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction, which he asserted was to be established in his own person ; and when this should be accomplished, the minds of the people would be equally prepared for the reception of civil or religious tyranny—that jesuitical arts were used to bring his schemes to perfection ; party divisions were made in private families ; spies engaged in their houses ; servants bribed to communicate family secrets to him, and that those who had given themselves up to his spiritual guidance,

especially females, were required to discover to him their secret actions, and the subjects of their dreams. He had preserved a great intimacy with Causton the chief bailiff, and had said some tender things to his niece—she rejected his proposals, having been engaged to a gentleman, whom she married soon after : this produced chagrin and gave umbrage to Wesley, who under some frivolous pretexts repelled her from the holy communion—her husband thought himself well founded in an action of damages ; and Causton, who was nettled at the affront offered to his niece, encouraged him in prosecuting the suit : accordingly thirteen indictments were found against Wesley, one of which was at the instance of this lady—the others were founded on the improper exercise of his ecclesiastical functions: these indictments, found by forty-four freeholders, were forwarded by the bailiffs to the trustees, accompanied by an abstract of other matters, by which they considered themselves oppressed. It will be but just to extract a few observations from Wesley's own journal, as the record has been preserved by his biographers Doct. Coke and Mr. Moore, and then leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.—“ Mr. Causton, the store-keeper and chief magistrate of Savannah, had a young lady in his house, his niece, of an improved understanding, and elegant person and manners. The general (meaning Oglethorpe) thought he found in her a proper bait for this soaring re-

ligionist. This young lady was introduced to him as a person who had severely felt the anguish of a wounded spirit, and now was a sincere enquirer after the way of eternal life. After some time he observed that she took every possible opportunity of being in his company. She also desired a greater intimacy ; but modestly veiled her real motives, under a request that he would assist her in attaining a perfect knowledge of the French tongue.

“ Mr. Delamotte (a friend of Mr. Wesley’s) had not learned to defy suspicion. He thought he saw in her, *semblance* of worth, not *substance*. He therefore embraced an opportunity of expostulating with Mr. Wesley, and asked him if he designed to marry Miss Sophia? at the same time set forth in a strong light, *her* art and *his* simplicity. Though pleased with the attention of his fair friend, Mr. Wesley had not allowed himself to determine upon marriage. Mr. Delamotte’s question not a little puzzled him. He waved an answer at that time ; and perceiving the prejudice of Mr. Delamotte’s mind against the young lady, he called on bishop Nitscham, and consulted him : his answer was short ; marriage said he, you know, is not unlawful. Whether it is now expedient for you, and whether this lady is a proper match for you, ought to be maturely weighed. Finding his perplexity increase, he determined to propose his doubts to the elders of the Moravian church. When he entered the

house where they met together, he found Mr. Delamotte sitting amongst them. On his proposing the business, the bishop replied—we have considered your case—will you abide by our decision? he answered, I will—then said the bishop, we advise you to proceed no farther in this business. He replied, the will of the Lord be done. From this time he cautiously avoided every thing that tended to continue the intimacy. Soon after this a young gentlewoman, who had been some time before married to the surgeon of the colony, and had sailed with the general from Europe, sent for him, and related to him *under a promise of secrecy*, what we shall now declare concerning the hitherto mysterious part of this circumstance, adding these words: I had no rest till I resolved to tell you the whole affair: I have myself been urged to that behaviour towards you which I am now ashamed to mention—both Miss Sophia and myself were ordered, if we could not succeed, even to *deny you nothing*.” Some would be ill-natured enough to doubt the *truth* of this assertion: to say the *best* of it, Mr. Wesley violated the laws of fidelity and confidence, in recording it in his journal.

Mr. Wesley proceeds and admits that *ten* bills of indictment were found against him, and that he was required to give security to appear at court for trial, which he refused.—“In the afternoon the magistrates published an order, requiring all the officers and centinels to prevent his

going out of the province ; and forbidding any person to assist him so to do. Being now a prisoner at large, in the place where he knew by experience, every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidences of words he never said, and actions he never did ; he saw clearly the hour was come for leaving that place ; and as soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, he shook the dust off his feet and left Georgia."

I have discussed this subject at more length than I intended, because Mr. Wesley has been spoken of by some of his followers as the *superior of St. Paul*, in point of religious zeal ; and his efforts for the conversion of the aboriginies of America, have been produced as evidences of the assertion. In Mr. Wesley's journal, he dates his conversion after he was forty years of age, and seven years after he left Georgia ; therefore he could not have been fully qualified to heal the *wounded spirit* of Miss Sophia.

Having portrayed the morning of Mr. Wesley's character, it is but just to give the evening. After the period of life at which he dates his conversion, he appears to have been a warm and zealous advocate for the christian religion, in which it is believed he was eminently favored amongst the saints of God, and as distinguished for his holy walk, as for his great abilities, indefatigable labor and singular usefulness—the foibles of his early life were used by his enemies to stain his

character, and if possible to rob him of the laurels which he acquired in advanced age : he seems to have imagined that the glorious head of the church was pleased to furnish special interposition in his behalf, which he was sometimes ready to construe as miraculous. He is gone to give an account of himself to his proper judge, by whom I doubt not, all his iniquities are pardoned.

The return of Oglethorpe in February 1736, contributed greatly to the settlement and preservation of the colony, which had already become considerable enough, not only to draw the attention, but to excite the jealousy of the Spaniards ; who, without all question, would have been glad to have overpowered and driven out of it their unwelcome neighbors, if it had been in their power. The Spanish governor was apprehensive of the consequences which must have attended an open war between the two nations, on account of the disputes between their frontier provinces ; which circumstances were so well improved by Oglethorpe, and the Indians who had entered into friendship with the new settlement, and were so strongly attached to the English interest, that the governor of St. Augustine, upon mature deliberation, found it more expedient to enter into a negociation with the English colony ; which Oglethorpe also knowing to be advisable for the security of Georgia, negociated and concluded a treaty, upon very just and reasonable, as well as safe and advantageous terms ;

as will appear by the following copy of the treaty itself, and the powers given by him for concluding and signing it.

“ To Charles Demsey, Esquire.

“ I have empowered you by procuration, dated the 23d of June 1736, to treat and conclude, concerning certain matters of importance, relating to these provinces, with his excellency Don Francisco del Moral Sanches, captain-general of Florida, and governor of St. Augustine, and the council of war of the said garrison ; and having since the dates of these letters, received advice from the governor of St. Augustine, as also a message from his excellency Don Juan Francisco Geumes de Horcasitas, major-general in his catholic majesty’s service, captain-general of the island of Cuba, and governor of Havannah, by Don Antonio de Arredondo, they both empowering him to treat concerning the said matters ; I do hereby empower, constitute and appoint you, to treat, conclude and sign the following articles ; and to deliver the same unto the governor and council of St. Augustine, they signing, sealing and interchanging the said articles :

“ First. That his excellency the governor of St. Augustine, shall restrain his Indians, subjects to the king of Spain, from committing any hostilities upon the subjects of the king of Great-Britain. I will restrain the Indian subjects of the king of Great-Britain in this province, from any

hostilities upon the subjects of his catholic majesty.

“ Secondly. That in respect to the nations of free Indians called Creeks, I will use my utmost amicable endeavors upon any reasonable satisfaction given them, to prevail with them to abstain from any hostilities whatsoever, with the subjects of his catholic majesty.

“ Thirdly. That with respect to the fort built on the island of St. George, I will draw off that garrison, together with the artillery, and all other things by me posted there; provided that none of his catholic majesty’s subjects, nor any other person, shall inhabit, people or fortify the said island; provided also, that no prejudice shall arise to the right of the king my master, to the said island, nor to any other dominions or claim that his Britannic majesty hath upon the continent: but that his right shall remain to the said island, and to all other places whatsoever, as if the said garrison had never been withdrawn: and the said garrison shall withdraw within fourteen days after the ratification of these articles.

“ Fourthly. I will agree with his excellency the governor of St. Augustine, and the council of war, that his Britannic majesty’s subjects under my command, shall not molest in any manner whatsoever, any of his catholic majesty’s subjects, provided that his catholic majesty’s subjects do not molest any of his Britannic majesty’s subjects, nor his allies.

Fifthly. That concerning any differences that have or shall arise, concerning the limits of the respective governments and dominions of the two crowns, such differences shall remain undecided, until the determination of the respective courts ; and that the subjects of each crown here, shall remain in profound peace, and not in any manner molest each other, until the determination of the respective courts on this subject.

“ Lastly. That no person shall be received from any garrison in either government, without a passport from the governor to whom such person belongs.

“ Given under my hand and seal at Frederica, in Géorgia the 27th day of September, 1736.

“ By the power to me given by his excellency James Oglethorpe, esq. governor and director-general of the new colony of Georgia, by his excellency's procuration, bearing date the 27th of October, in the tenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord george the second, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain. &c. &c. and in the year of our Lord 1736 ; I do hereby confirm and ratify the above articles with his excellency Don Francisco del Moral Sanches Villegas, captain-general and governor of St. Augustine of Florida, and with the council of war of the said garrison of St. Augustine ; as witness my hand and seal this 26th day of October, 1736.”

The counterpart of this treaty, executed by the governor of St. Augustine, by the advice and

with the consent of a council of war, was certified by Bartholomew Niotts, notary-public, in due form. But it appeared that the governor of St. Augustine was not in the secret of his master's court, for the Spanish ministry at home were very far from being desirous that a fair correspondence should be established between the two colonies. On the contrary their object was to compel the British government to relinquish the design of settling the colony of Georgia ; and with this view sir Thomas Geraldino, on the first of September, presented a memorial to his grace the duke of Newcastle, in which, among other things, he was pleased to say it was indisputable that the colony of Georgia was settled upon his masters dominions ; so that a plainer proof could not be had, that the Spaniards were determined if possible, to compel the crown of Great-Britain to surrender this settlement.

In the course of this year, Oglethorpe had been employed in strengthening the colony against an anticipated attack from the Spaniards, through Florida, notwithstanding the treaty which had just been concluded ; and while thus engaged, received a message from the governor of Augustine, informing him that a Spanish commissioner from the Havanna, had arrived there, in order to make certain demands of him, and would meet him at Frederica for that purpose. At the same time he had advice, that three companies of infantry, had accompanied the commissioner to the

Spanish settlement. A few days afterwards the commissioner came to Georgia by sea, and Oglethorpe unwilling to permit his visit at Frederica, despatched a sloop to bring him into Jekyl sound, where he intended to hold a conference. Here the commissioner demanded that Oglethorpe and his people, should without loss of time, evacuate all the territories to the southward of St. Helena sound, as they belonged to the king of Spain, who was determined to maintain his right to them; and should Oglethorpe refuse to comply with this demand, he declared he had orders to proceed to Charleston, and lay his instructions before the governor of that province. Oglethorpe endeavored to convince the commissioner that his catholic majesty had been misinformed respecting those territories, but to no purpose: the demand was positive and peremptory, and the conference broke off without coming to any agreement.—Oglethorpe, apprehensive of the danger which threatened his colony, embarked immediately and sailed for England, for the purpose of obtaining a formidable force to meet the enemy in case his colony should be invaded. When he arrived in England the trustees were convened, and these circumstances communicated to them. As war had not yet been formally proclaimed between the two nations, further proceedings were suspended until late in the summer of 1737, when appearances became more alarming, and the following petition was presented to the king :—

“ The humble memorial of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That they being intrusted by your majesty with the care of the colony of Georgia, which was formerly part of your majesty’s province of South-Carolina, and your majesty’s colony of Georgia being very much exposed to the power of the Spaniards, and being an object of their envy, by having valuable ports upon the homeward passage from the Spanish West-Indies, and the Spaniards having increased their force in the neighborhood thereof; the trustees, in consequence of the great trust reposed in them by your majesty, find themselves obliged, humbly to lay before your majesty, their inability, sufficiently to protect your majesty’s subjects settled in Georgia, under the encouragement of your majesty’s charter, against this late increase of forces, and therefore become humble suppliants to your majesty, on the behalf of your majesty’s subjects settled in the province of Georgia, that your majesty would be pleased to take their preservation into your royal consideration, that by a necessary supply of forces, the province may be protected against the great dangers that seem immediately to threaten it. All which is most humbly submitted to your majesty’s great wisdom.

“ Signed by order of the trustees, this 10th day of August, 1737.

“ BENJAMIN MARTYN, Secretary.”

On the 25th of the same month, Oglethorpe obtained the appointment of colonel, with the rank of general and commander in chief of the forces in South-Carolina and Georgia; and was directed to raise a regiment with all possible expedition for the protection of the frontiers of the colonies. As an encouragement for the good behaviour of the soldiers, the trustees resolved to give them an interest in the prosperity and welfare of the colony; and accordingly made a grant of land in trust, for an allotment of five acres to each soldier of the regiment, to be cultivated by him for his own use and benefit, and to hold the same during his continuance in the service; and for a further encouragement they resolved, that each soldier, who at the end of seven years from the date of his enlistment, should be desirous of quitting the service, and should produce his regular discharge, and would settle in the colony, should on having his commanding officers certificate or good behaviour, be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land. The regiment was filled up, embarked and arrived in Georgia, in Sept. 1738. The inhabitants of the colony at the close of this year, amounted to one thousand one hundred and ten persons, exclusive of those who had settled at Augusta, Tybee, Skidaway, Argyle, Thunderbolt, Cumberland and Amelia, who had brought servants and come to Georgia, at their own expense. The emigrants of this year were principally of German protestants, who settled at Ebenezer.

During Oglethorpe's absence from Georgia, the discontents of the people had ripened into a settled aversion to their condition : the strict laws of the trustees, respecting the rum trade, had created a serious quarrel at Savannah : the fortification at Augusta, had induced the traders from Charleston to open stores there, as most convenient and profitable for commercial intercourse with the Indians. For this purpose, the land carriage being expensive, they intended to force their way with loaded boats up Savannah river, for the supply of goods to their stores. As the boats passed the town of Savannah, a trader, induced by advantageous offers for a prohibited article, smuggled rum on shore to the soldiers.—Causton who was the chief of the bailiffs, nettled with such an infringement of the law, under his executive guidance, rashly ordered the boats to be examined, the packages to be opened, the casks of rum staved, and the offender to be confined. This harsh treatment was resented by the governor of Carolina, who deputed one member from the council, and one from the legislature, with instructions to proceed to Savannah, and enquire into the case, and demand by what authority, the person and goods of Carolinians were seized and destroyed, in waters where an equal right of navigation was claimed, under a law of the colony of Georgia. Time had cooled the temper of Causton and his associates, and becoming sensible of their error, the trader was

released, his goods restored, compensation allowed for the damages sustained, out of the trustees funds, and satisfactory concessions made : the dispute was settled and the deputies treated with the utmost civility. An agreement was entered into, that the Carolina traders should not thereafter be interrupted, but that they should be assisted and protected in their lawful pursuits ; and on the other hand it was engaged, that no spirituous liquors should be smuggled amongst the settlers, and that the navigation of Savannah river should be open and free to both provinces.

In the mean time the most extravagant accounts of this paradise of the world, were circulated in England : numerous hackney muses might be instanced, but I shall confine myself to the celebrated performance of the reverend Mr. Wesley, where a sufficient stock of truth and religion, might be expected to counterbalance a poetical licence : this was said to have been written about the time he was courting the smiles of justice Causton's niece : the poem is entitled "*Georgia*," and some verses upon Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage :—

“ See where beyond the spacious ocean lies
A wide waste land beneath the southern skies,
Where kindly suns for ages roll'd in vain,
Nor e'er the vintage saw, or rip'ning grain ;
Where all things into wild luxuriance ran,
And burthen'd nature ask'd the aid of man.
In this sweet climate and prolific soil,
He bids the eager swain indulge his toil ;
In free possession to the planters hand,

Consigns the rich uncultivated land.
 Go you, the monarch cries, go settle there,
 Whom Britain from her plenitude can spare ;
 Go, your old wonted industry pursue ;
 Nor envy Spain the treasures of *Peru*."

" But not content in council here to join,
 A further labor, *Oglethorpe*, is thine :
 In each great deed, thou claim'st the foremost part,
 And toil and danger charm thy gen'rous heart :
 But chief for this thy warm affections rise ;
 For oh! thou view'st it with a parent's eyes :
 For this thou tempt'st the vast tremendous main,
 And floods and storms oppose their threats in vain."

" He comes, whose life, while absent from your view,
 Was one continued ministry for you ;
 For you were laid out all his pains and art,
 Won ev'ry will and soften'd ev'ry heart.
 With what paternal joy shall he relate,
 How views its mother isle, your little state :
 Think while he strove your distant coast to gain,
 How oft he sigh'd and chid the tedious main !
 Impatient to survey, by culture grac'd,
 Your dreary woodland and your rugged waste.
 Fair were the scenes he feign'd, the prospect fair ;
 And sure, ye Georgians, all he feign'd was there.
 A thousand pleasures crowd into his breast ;
 But one, one mighty thought absorbs the rest,
 And gives me heav'n to see, the patriot cries,
 Another Britain in the desert rise."

With nobler products see thy *Georgia* teems,
 Chear'd with the genial sun's director beams ;
 There the wild vine to culture learns to yield,
 And purple clusters ripen through the field.
 Now bid thy merchants bring their wine no more
 Or from the *Iberian* or the *Tuscan* shore :
 No more they need th' Hungarian vineyards drain,
 And France herself may drink her best Champaign,
 Behold ! at last, and in a subject land,
 Nectar sufficient for thy large demand :

Delicious nectar, powerful to improve
Our hospitable mirth and social love :
This for thy jovial sons—nor less the care
Of thy young province, to oblige the fair ;
Here tend the silk-worm in the verdant shade,
The frugal matron and the blooming maid.

The bad effects which would arise from such a picture so overcharged, are evident. Idlers who saw this description from the pen of a clergyman, and calculated on its truth, removed to Georgia, under the belief that the labor of one or two days in the week, would enable them to dress in silk and riot in wine, the remainder of their days : With such expectations many came to Georgia, where to their astonishment they found nothing but complaints, discontents, poverty, disease and wretchedness.

The inhabitants discovered that their constitutions would not bear the cultivation of the swamp lands, and that the pine lands were unproductive : instead of reaping the rich harvest of plenty, raising commodities for exportation, and wallowing in wealth and affluence, as they had been taught to expect ; the labor of several years had not enabled them to provide a coarse common subsistence for themselves and families. Under these discouragements, numbers withdrew to the Carolina side of the river, where the prospects of success were more promising, and the magistrates observed the infant colony sinking into ruin.—Dismayed by a foresight of the depopulation of the colony, they joined the freeholders in and

about Savannah, in drawing up a petition, representing their condition, and transmitted it to the trustees—on this subject their own language will give the best impressions :—

“ To the honorable the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia.

“ May it please your honors,

“ We, whose names are under-written, being all settlers, freeholders and inhabitants of the province of Georgia, and being sensible of the great pains and care exerted by you, in endeavoring to settle this colony, since it has been under your protection and management, do unanimously join to lay before you, with the utmost regret, the following particulars. But, in the first place, we must beg leave to observe, that it has afforded us a great deal of concern and uneasiness, that former representations made to you of the same nature, have not been thought worthy of a due consideration, nor even of an answer. We have most of us settled in this colony, in pursuance of a description and representation of it by you, in Britain ; and from the experience of residing here several years, do find, that it is impossible the measures hitherto laid down for making it a colony, can succeed. None of all those who have planted their lands, have been able to raise sufficient produce to maintain their families, in bread kind only, even though as much application and industry have been exerted to bring it about, as could be done by men engaged in an affair, in

which they believe the welfare of themselves and posterity so much depended, and which they imagine must require more than ordinary pains to make it succeed ; so that by the accumulated expenses every year of provisions, clothing, medicines, &c. for themselves, families and servants, several of them have expended all their money, nay, even run considerably in debt, and so have been obliged to leave off planting, and making further improvements ; and those who continue, are daily exhausting more and more of their money, and some daily increasing their debts, without a possibility of being reimbursed, according to the present constitution. This being now the general state of the colony, it must be obvious, that people cannot subsist by their land according to the present establishment ; and this being a truth resulting from trial, patience and experience, cannot be contradicted by any theoretical scheme of reasoning. The land then, according to the present constitution, not being able to maintain the settlers here, they must unavoidably have recourse to, and depend upon trade ; but to our woful experience likewise, the same causes that prevent the first, obstruct the latter ; for though the situation of this place is exceedingly well adapted to trade, and if it were encouraged might be much more improved by the inhabitants, yet the difficulties and restrictions which we hitherto have, and at present do labor under, debar us of that advantage. Timber is the only

thing we have here which we can export, and notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in planting our land, yet we cannot manufacture it fit for foreign market, but at double the expense of other colonies; as for instance, the river of May, which is but twenty miles from us, with the allowance of negroes, load vessels with that commodity at one half of the price that we can do; and what should induce persons to bring ships here, when they can be loaded with one half of the expense so near us? therefore the timber on the land is only a continual charge to the possessors of it, though of very great service in all the northern colonies, where negroes are allowed, and consequently labor cheap. We do not in the least doubt, but that in time, silk and wine may be produced here, particularly the former; but since the cultivation of lands with white servants only, cannot raise provision for our families, as before mentioned, therefore it is likewise impossible to carry on these manufactures according to the present constitution. It is very well known that Carolina can raise every thing that this colony can, and they having their labor so much cheaper, will always ruin our market, unless we are in some measure on a footing with them; and as in both, the lands are worn out in four or five years, and then fit for nothing but pasture, we must always be at a great deal more expense than they in clearing new land for planting. The importation of necessaries for life comes to us at the most extravagant rate;

merchants in general, especially of England, not being willing to supply the settlers with goods upon commission, because no person here can make them any security of their lands and improvements, as is very often practised in other places, to promote trade, where some of the employers money is laid out in necessary buildings and improvements, fitted for the trade intended ; without which it cannot be carried on. The benefit of the importation, therefore, is to all transient persons, who do not lay out any money among us, but on the contrary carry every penny out of the place ; and the chief reason for their enhancing the price, is, because they cannot get any goods here, either on freight or purchase for another merchant. If the advantage accruing from importation centered in the inhabitants, the profit thereof would naturally circulate amongst us, and be laid out in improvements in the colony.

“ Your honors, we imagine, are not insensible of the numbers that have left this province, not being able to support themselves any longer, and those still remaining, who have money of their own, and credit with their friends, have laid out most of the former in improvements, and lost the latter by doing it on such precarious titles ; and upon account of the present establishment, not above two or three persons, except those brought on charity, and servants sent by you, have come here for the space of two years past, either to settle land or encourage trade, neither do we hear

of any such likely to come, until we are on better terms.

“ It is true, his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant a regiment for the defence of this province and the neighboring colony, which indeed will much assist us in defending ourselves against our enemies, but otherwise does not in the least contribute to our support; for all that part of their pay which is expended here, is laid out with transient people and our neighbors of Carolina, who are capable of supporting them with provisions and other necessaries at a moderate price, which we as before observed, are not at all capable of doing upon the present establishment: This being our present condition, it is obvious what the consequences must be.

“ But we, for our parts, having entirely relied on, and confided in your good intentions, believing you would redress such grievances that should arise, and now by long experience from industry and continual application to improvement on our land, do find it impossible to pursue it, or subsist ourselves any longer, according to the present nature of the constitution: And likewise believing that you will agree to the measures which are found by experience, capable of making this colony succeed, and to promote which, we have spent all our money, time and labor. We do from a sincere regard to its welfare, and in duty, both to you and ourselves, beg leave to solicit your immediate consideration to the two follow-

ing chief causes of these our misfortunes, and the deplorable state of the colony ; and which, we are certain, if granted, would be an infallible remedy to both :

“ First. The want of a free title or fee simple to our lands, which if granted, would occasion great numbers of new settlers to come amongst us, and likewise encourage those who remain here, cheerfully to proceed in making further improvements, as well to retrieve their sunk fortunes, as to make provision for their posterity.

“ Second. The want and use of negroes with proper limitations, which if granted, would both induce great numbers of white people to come here, and also render us capable of subsisting ourselves by raising provisions upon our lands, until we could make some produce from it for exportation, and in some measure to balance our importation. We are very sensible of the inconveniencies and mischiefs that have already and do daily arise from an unlimited use of negroes ; but we are as sensible that these might be prevented by a proper limitation, such as, so many to each white man, or so many to such a quantity of land, or in any other manner which your honors shall think most proper. By granting us, gentlemen, these particulars, and such other privileges as his majesty’s most dutiful subjects in America enjoy, you will not only prevent our impending ruin, but we are fully satisfied also, will soon make this the most flourishing colony possessed by his

majesty in America, and your memories will be perpetuated to all future ages, our latest posterity sounding your praises as their first founders, patrons and guardians: but if, by denying us those privileges, we ourselves and families are not only ruined, but even our posterity likewise; you will always be mentioned as the cause and authors of all their misfortunes and calamities; which we hope will never happen.

“ We are with all due respect,
your honors most dutiful,
and obedient servants.

Savannah in Georgia, December 9th, 1738.”

This representation was signed by all the freeholders in the county of Savannah (now Chatham) except a few, who adhered to the arrangements of the trustees, and the plans of the general. Copies of this petition were drawn up, and one sent to the Revd Mr. Boltzius, at Ebenezer, and another to John Moore M‘Intosh, at Darien. The Germans and Highlanders, not only refused joining in the petition, but drew up and signed a counter one, and Mr. M‘Intosh enclosed the one transmitted to him, to Oglethorpe, at Frederica. As these petitions form the counterpart of the former, and give a true impression of the embarrassments with which the general had to contend; it is thought proper to insert them:

“ *To his Excellency General Oglethorpe.*

“ We are informed that our neighbors of Savannah, have petitioned your excellency for the

liberty of having slaves ; we hope and earnestly intreat that before such proposals are harkened unto, your excellency will consider our situation, and of what dangerous and bad consequences such liberty would be to us, for many reasons.

“ First. The nearness of the Spaniards, who have proclaimed freedom to all slaves who run from their masters, make it impossible for us to keep them, without more labor in watching them, than they would be at to do their work.

“ Second. We are laborious, and know a white man may be by the year, more usefully employed than a negro.

“ Third. We are not rich, and becoming debtors for slaves, in case of their running away, or dying, would inevitably ruin the poor master, and he become a greater slave to the negro merchant, than the slave he bought could be to him.

Fourth. It would oblige us to keep a guard duty, at least as severe as when we expected a daily invasion ; and if that was the case, how miserable would it be to us, and our wives and children, to have an enemy without, and a more dangerous one in our bosom.

“ Fifth. It is shocking to human nature, that any race of mankind, and their posterity, should be sentenced to perpetual slavery ; nor in justice, can we think otherwise of it, than that they are thrown amongst us, to be our scourge one day or other for our sins ; and as freedom to them must be as dear as to us, what a scene of horror must

it bring about ! and the longer it is unexecuted, the bloody scene must be the greater. We therefore for our own sakes, our wives and children, and our posterity, beg your consideration, and intreat that instead of introducing slaves, you will put us in the way to get some of our countrymen, who with their labor, in time of peace, and our vigilance, if we are invaded ; with the help of those will render it a difficult thing to hurt us, or that part of the province we possess. We will forever pray for your excellency, and are with all submission,

Your excellency's most obedient,

Humble servants, &c.

New-Inverness (*Darien*) 3d, Jan. 1739."

[This petition was signed by eighteen inhabitants of Darien.]

"To his excellency Gen. Oglethorpe,"

Ebenezer, 13th March, 1739.

"We the Saltzburghers, and inhabitants of Ebenezer, that have signed this letter, intreat humbly in our, and our brethren's names, your excellency would be pleased to show us the favor of desiring the honorable trustees for sending to Georgia, another transport of Saltzburghers, to be settled at Ebenezer. We have with one accord wrote a letter to our father in God, the Reverend Mr. Senior Urlspurger, at Augspurg, and in that letter expressly named those Saltzburghers and Austrians, whom, as our friends, relations and countrymen, we wish to settle here. We can indeed attest of them, that they fear the

Lord truly, love working, and will conform themselves to our congregation. We have given them an account of our being settled well, and being mighty well pleased with the climate and condition of this country, having here several preferences in spiritual and temporal circumstances, for other people in Germany, which your honor will find in the here-enclosed copy of our letter to Mr. Senior Urlsperger; if they fare as we do, having been provided in the beginning with provisions, a little stock for breeding, some tools and good land, by the care of the honorable trustees, and if God grants his blessing to their work, we doubt not, but they will gain with us, easily, their bread and subsistence, and lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. Though it is here a hotter climate than our native country is, yet not so extremely hot as we were told on the first time of our arrival; but since we have now been used to the country, we find it tolerable, and for working people very convenient, setting themselves to work early in the morning, till ten o'clock, and in the afternoon, from three to sunset; and having business at home, we do them in our huts and houses, in the middle of the day, till the greatest heat is over. People in Germany are hindered by frost and snow in the winter, from doing any work in the fields and vineyards: but we have this preference, to do the most and heaviest work at such a time, preparing the ground suf-

ficiently for planting in the spring. We were told by several people, after our arrival, that it proves quite impossible and dangerous for white people to plant and manufacture the rice, being a work only for negroes, not for European people ; but having experience of the contrary, we laugh at such a talking, seeing that several people of us have had, in last harvest, a greater crop of rice than they wanted for their own consumption. If God is pleased to enable us, by some money, for building such mills convenient for the cleaning the rice, as we use in Germany for the making several grains fit for eating, then the manufacture of rice will be an easy and profitable thing : For the present we crave your excellencies goodness to allow for the use of the whole congregation, some rice sieves of several sorts, from Charleston, which cannot be had at Savannah ; we will be accountable to the store for them.— Of corn, pease, potatoes, pumpkins, &c. we had such a good quantity, that many bushels were, and much was spent in feeding calves, cows and hogs. If the surveyor, according to his order and duty, had used dispatch in laying out our farms, (which we have got not sooner than last fall.) *Item* ; if not, we all were disappointed by long sickness, and planting the yellow Pennsylvania corn, we should have been able, by the blessing of God, to spare a greater quantity of grain, for getting meat kind and clothes, of which we are in want. It is true, the ten acres of

ground for each families garden, are set out some time ago ; but there being very few swamps fit for planting rice, and some of them wanting a great deal of manure, we were not able in the beginning to manure it well, therefore we could not make such a good use of those acres as we now have reason to hope, by the assistance of God, after our plantations are laid out. Hence it is that we plant the good ground first, and improve the other soil then, when occasion may require it, in the best manner we can. In the first time, when the ground must be cleared from trees, bushes and roots, and fenced in carefully, we are to undergo some hard labor, which afterwards will be easier and more pleasing, when the hardest trial is over, and our plantations are better regulated. A good deal of time was spent in building huts, houses and other necessary buildings in town, and upon the farms ; and since we wanted money for several expences, several persons of us have hired ourselves out, for some weeks, for building the orphan-house, and its appurtenances.—*Item* ; the Reverend Mr. Gronau's house, which happened to be built in the hottest summer season ; and now some of us are employed to build the Reverend Mr. Bolzius' house, which buildings have taken away some time from our work in the ground ; but the fair opportunity of earning some money at home, was a great benefit to us: this being so, that neither the hot summer season, or any thing else, hinders us from working the ground ; and we

wish to live a quiet and peaceable life at our place. We humbly beseech the honorable trustees not to allow it, that any negroes might be brought to our place, or in our neighborhood ; knowing by experience that our fields and gardens will be always robbed by them, and white persons be put in danger of life because of them, besides other great inconveniences : likewise we humbly beseech you and the trustees, not to give any person the liberty of buying up lands at our place, by which, if granted, it would happen, that by bad and turbulent neighbors, our congregation would be spoiled, and poor harmless people troubled and oppressed ; but we wish and long for such neighbors to be settled here, whose good name and honest behaviour, is known to us and our favorers. The honorable trustees have been always favorers and protectors of poor and distressed people, therefore we beseech you and them, they would be pleased to take us farther under your fatherly care, that the remembrance of their benevolence and kindness to our congregation, might be conveyed to our late posterity, and be highly praised. We put up our prayers to God for rewarding your excellency, and the honorable trustees manifold, for all their good assistance and benefits which are bestowed upon us, and humbly beg the continuance of your and their favor and protection, being with the greatest submission and respect,

Your honors most obedient dutiful servants.”

[This petition was signed by the inhabitants of Ebenezer.]

“We the ministers of the congregation at Ebenezer, join with the Saltzburghers in this petition, and verify, that every one of them has signed it with the greatest readiness and satisfaction.

JOHN MARTIN BOBLIUS,
ISRAEL CHRISTIAN GRONDER.”

If the same people had been settled in a country, some hundreds of leagues from the other colonies of Great-Britain, out of the reach of such examples and indulgencies as were granted to the Carolinians, it is probable that they might have submitted to the regulations which were established for their government : but they considered themselves as forming a bulwark on advanced ground, for the defence of their neighbors and their property, against the Spaniards. Notwithstanding the trustees required nothing from the people, but what they had bound themselves by covenants and indentures to perform, yet they considered themselves as subjects to the same king, consequently entitled to the same privileges. The Germans and Highlanders having been brought up in the habits of industry, yielded to a fulfilment of their contracts for the public good, and under a full confidence that the trustees would, in due time, extend to them such privileges as would eventually tend to their interest and happiness. The people about Savannah, having been, not only useless members, but burthensome to society at home, determined to be

equally so abroad ; and as they generally, had nothing to loose, they determined obstinately to persist in their demands until their wishes were gratified, or the colony ruined. Idleness and dissipation prevailed to such a formidable degree, that the people were on the verge of starvation. The object of the trustees was to compel them to labor, and their object was to live without labor. There were many reasons however, on account of which, the complaints of the settlers were entitled to some notice by their patrons. The land about Savannah was granted indiscriminately, without any regard to its quality, or the ability of the owner to cultivate it : some of the lots were rich and valuable, others poor. The farmer who was obliged to cultivate pine land, was absolutely compelled to plant where he could not reap a valuable consideration for his labor. The river or swamp land was clothed with an immense quantity of heavy timber, and with all the advantages of experience, it requires twenty hands one year, to put forty acres of it in a condition for advantageous cultivation. The air from the swamps was pregnant with nauseous qualities, generating disease and ending in debility : the sea-breezes could not penetrate the thick forest sufficiently to agitate the air, which at some seasons, is thick, heavy and foggy, at others, clear, close and suffocating ; either of which was considered pernicious to health. The poor settlers considered that the wild beasts had been robbed

of their birth-right, when this howling wilderness was fixed on for a human habitation. The progress of the colony was also retarded by wild speculative schemes, of its most favorable productions : silk and wine appear to have been the delusive phantoms that misled the trustees. The first objects of cultivation should have been directed to necessary food and clothing for the people : no other colony lay so convenient for supplying the West-Indies with pease, beans, potatoes, &c. for which the demand was great, and the furnishing these articles would have been profitable ; though the West-India islands produced those articles, the planters would rather have purchased than raised them, because they could have turned their attention to other species of cultivation which were more profitable. Abundance of stock, particularly hogs and cattle, might have been raised in Georgia for the same market : lumber was also in demand, and might have been rendered profitable to the province, had it not been prevented by the restrictions of the trustees. European grain, such as wheat, rye, barley and oats, would have thriven almost as well upon an oyster bank, as on the sandy land of Georgia, though the interior is well adapted to their culture. Silk and wine were not found to answer their expectations, because the process was too tedious for a new colony.

The complaints of the people of the province, however ignorant they might be, ought not to

have been entirely disregarded by the trustees : experience suggested those inconveniences and troubles, from which they implored relief : the hints they gave, certainly ought to have been improved towards correcting errors in the plan of settlement, and forming another, which promised prospects more favorable and advantageous to them. The scattered thoughts of simple individuals, sometimes afford to wiser men, materials for forming correct opinions, and become the ground work of the most beneficial regulations. The opinion of the people individually, ought not to be excluded from the attention and regard of their rulers. The honor of the trustees, and the gratification they hoped to experience from their laudable undertaking, depended upon the success and happiness of the settlers ; and it was impossible for the people to succeed and be happy, deprived of those encouragements, liberties and privileges, necessary to the first state of colonization. A title for land which would have secured it to themselves and their offspring, both male and female, ought to have been given ; liberty to choose it of such quality as would promise to reward them for their labour, and then to manage it in such manner as appeared to themselves most conducive to their interest : these would have been incentives to industry, and opened to the view of the industrious planter, the prospect of opulence and wealth, for himself and his descendants. Such

encouragements might have been given without opening to the speculator a field for the monopoly of land, by the introduction of restrictions in their grants, such as the prohibition of mortgages and sales.

While the people of Georgia were laboring under these difficulties and petitioning unsuccessfully for relief, the king was giving every encouragement for the rapid settlement of the adjoining colony. Fee-simple titles were offered for the choice of land, unshackled by restrictions, either as to trade or slavery.

CHAPTER III.

SEVERAL years had passed without an open rupture between England and Spain, yet there was not a good understanding between the two courts ; either as regarded the privileges of navigation, or the southern limits of Georgia. To the first, the Spaniards pretended they had an exclusive right to the territories and waters lying within certain latitudes in the bay of Mexico. The British merchants claimed by treaty, the privilege of cutting log-wood on the bay of Campeachy—this liberty had been tolerated by Spain for several years, and the British merchants from

avaricious motives, extended their claim of privileges to a trafic with the Spaniards, and supplied them with English manufactures. To prevent this illicit trade, the Spaniards doubled their maritime force on that station, with orders to board and search every English vessel found in those seas, and directed seizures to be made on all vessels carrying contraband commodities, and the sailors to be confined. At length not only smugglers but fair traders were searched and detained, so that the commerce was entirely obstructed.—The British became clamorous, against such depredations to their ministry, which produced one remonstrance after another to the Spanish court; all of which were answered by evasive promises and vexatious delays.

The British minister, notorious for his pacific disposition, had long been flattered with promises of enquiry and redress of grievances, and suffered the complaints to remain unredressed, to the injury of the trade, and great loss of the nation.—Considerable reinforcements were sent to the garrison at Augustine, and a surplus of arms, ammunition and provisions, supposed to be intended for the Indians. These circumstances and preparations, with the demands which had been made of Oglethorpe, were sufficient to show to Georgia and Carolina, the necessity of holding themselves in readiness to oppose the hostilities which were evidently preparing for them. Lieut. governor Bull of South Carolina, despatched ad-

vice to England of the growing power of Spain in East Florida, and acquainted the trustees that such preparations were making there, as evidently portended hostilities; and as the Spaniards pretended to have a claim to Georgia, there were strong grounds to believe that they intended to assert their claim by force of arms. The king resolved to vindicate the honor of his crown, and maintain the right to his territories in Georgia, together with the freedom of commerce and navigation in the Mexican seas. The pacific disposition of his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, had drawn upon him the displeasure of the nation, particularly of the mercantile part; and that amazing power and authority which he had long maintained, began to decline: the spirit of the nation was roused, and the administration could no longer wink at the insults, depredations and cruelties, which had been practised by Spain. Instructions were despatched to the British ambassador at Madrid, to demand in absolute terms, a compensation for the injuries of trade: this produced an order from the Spanish court to the ambassador, to allow the amount to the British merchants, upon condition of the Spanish demand upon the south-sea company being deducted, and Oglethorpe's settlers recalled from Georgia; and no more employed in that quarter, as he had there made great encroachments on his catholic majesty's dominions. These conditions were received at the court of Great-Britain with

that indignation which might have been expected from an injured nation. The Spanish ambassador at London, was informed that the king of England was determined, never to relinquish his right to a single foot of land in the province of Georgia ; and that he must allow his subjects to make reprisals, since satisfaction for their losses in trade could in no other way be obtained.

The Hector and Blanford ships of war, had been ordered to transport general Oglethorpe's regiment to Georgia, where they arrived in September 1738. The colonists rejoiced at their arrival, having been harrassed by frequent alarms ; they now found themselves relieved, and placed in such circumstances as enabled them to bid defiance to the Spanish power.

The general established his head-quarters at Frederica and placed small garrisons on Jekyl and Cumberland islands to watch the motions of the enemy. While preparations were making in England to guard against the hostility of Spain, the Spanish agents from Augustine, had been busily employed in seducing the Creek Indians, who had formed a great attachment for general Oglethorpe, and impressed them with a belief that he was at Augustine, and promised them considerable presents if they would pay him a visit at that place. Accordingly some of them went down to see their beloved man, as they called him ; but finding he was not there, they were highly offended at the deception attempted to be

practised upon them. The Spanish governor in order to cover the fraud, or probably with a design to convey their leaders out of the way, that he might have the less difficulty in corrupting their nation by a Pizarro stratagem, pretended that the general was sick on board of a ship in the harbor, where he would be extremely glad to see them ; but the Indians, suspicious of some deep design, refused to go, rejected their presents and offers of alliance, and immediately left the place : when they returned to their towns, they found an invitation from the general, to meet him at Frederica, which evidenced to them the insidious designs of the Spaniards, and tended to increase the general's influence and power over them. A number of the chiefs and warriors repaired to the place appointed, where they received the thanks of the general for their fidelity : he made them many valuable presents and renewed the treaty of friendship and alliance. At this meeting, they offered the general every aid in their power ; agreed to march a thousand men to his assistance whenever he demanded them, and invited him to pay a visit to their towns : he excused himself by stating the multiplicity of business, which would necessarily occupy his time in settling the province, and making arrangements for its defence against the Spaniards ; but promised them a visit the next summer, and dismissed them much pleased with his kindness and hospitality, and disgusted with the Spaniards for the deception

which was evidently intended to be practised upon them at Augustine.

In this state of anxiety and perplexity, the general's mind was harrassed with the complaints of the colonists. They wanted rum, they wanted slaves, and they wanted fee-simple titles to their lands. The following is offered as a sample of their outrageous discontents; and in which was enclosed a copy of the petition from the people at Savannah to the trustees :

To the honorable James Oglethorpe, Esquire, general and commander in chief over all his majesty's forces in South-Carolina and Georgia, &c. at Frederica.

“ SIR,

“ It is the common misfortune of all who act in the higher stations of life, to be surrounded by flatterers, who consult rather the humors, passions and prejudices of their patrons, than their honor and interest: this should induce every person in such station, who regards his own honor, interest and fame, to lend an open and attentive ear to truth, in whatever shape, or from whatever hand delivered. I have no other basis, motive or interest in view, farther than as I am a member of the colony, and a well wisher to the happiness of society, unless a real and sincere regard to your honor and welfare, and an earnest desire to restore you to that quiet of mind and the now suspended affections of the people, which

the present state of affairs must necessarily deprive you of ; it is not therefore of consequence to enquire who writes, but what is written. I am, sir, a plain dealer, and shall, with the greatest respect, use you with more sincerity than ceremony, and if any arguments can attain the desired effect, you will, I doubt not, think me your and the colony's real friend. When a skilful physician would relieve his patient of a disease, he traces it from the beginning, and examines the sources and progress of it, in order that by finding out the cause, he may the more certainly apply a remedy : in the body politic the same process is necessary to effect a cure. The present languishing and almost desperate condition of the affairs of this province, is too obvious to your excellency to need a description : be pleased then, to lay aside prepossession and prejudice, to retire unto yourself, and examine impartially whence the present misfortunes take rise ; in order to do which, let me present your excellency with a view of the nations designs in establishing this colony ; and indeed they were and are nothing unsuitable to a British or Roman spirit ; the establishing a strong and numerous settlement as a barrier and safe guard to British America. To employ those persons in effecting this end who were least useful at home, and others who from reasonableness of profit should voluntarily profer their service : to restore liberty and happiness to those who, oppressed by the common misfortunes of man,

kind, were groaning under the consequences of those misfortunes, and incapable of serving themselves or country at home : And lastly, to set a foot such new manufactures as might be most useful to support the colony, or tend to rectify the balance of trade of Great-Britain with neighboring nations—a design truly great, founded on the justest policy, and practicable. To suggest that any low private design was ever laid down, that might tend to make the adventurers slaves, or, at best, tenants at will ; or that it was a concert to leave the industry and substance of the settlers exposed to satisfy the ambition or covetousness of an after governor, or any particular courtier or party ; or to imagine that the honorable board of trustees or any of them, could be capable of such a concert ; I say, sir, that such a thought were impious. What wonder then, if numbers of persons, encouraged by his majesty's most ample rights and privileges, granted in his royal charter to the honorable trustees for the behalf of the inhabitants ; from the beautiful description of the fertility of the soil and happiness of the climate ; and lastly, from a view that Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of the greatest humanity and generosity, was willing to sacrifice his ease, and all those pleasures and enjoyments which his easy circumstances in life intitled him to, in order to be the patron and father of the distressed, and the distinguished friend of his country, society and human nature : I say, sir, no wonder if num-

bers upon those views, embarked their persons, families and fates, in such an adventure. Shall any thing then intervene to render such a noble design abortive, and frustrate those of their expected happiness, or your excellency of your deserved honors ? God forbid !

“ This colony consists of two sorts of people ; either those whom the public sent over, or volunteers ;* who were not burthensome to the public ; both now I look upon in the same light, as either party have exhausted their support or private stocks, in endeavoring to prosecute the intended plan ; but it shall suffice for my argument, that so many of each kind have applied themselves to this purpose as are sufficient to confirm the experiment, that it is impossible for us, with British or foreign servants, to afford the lowest necessaries of life, much less to increase our stocks, or defray the many exigencies and disappointments that this soil and climate, are inevitably exposed to : this I take to be granted ; and would to God the success of the colony depended on establishing the most satisfactory proofs of it ! And as for persons who, from selfish views, have imposed upon the credulity of the honorable trustees, by representing things in colors distant from truth ; it were superfluous to curse them. I do not say, but in time manufactures may be founded more suitable to the strength and constitution of British servants, that might support

* Such as came at their own expense.

and enrich the colony ; I heartily pray for that happy period ; and should then condemn and dissent from any who would not be content with the present regulation ; but as in the interim, production of necessaries is absolutely requisite, and under the present establishment impracticable ; it follows of course, that either the scheme must be altered or the design abandoned. At the first it was a trial, now it is an experiment ; and certainly no man or society need be ashamed to own, that from unforeseen emergencies the hypothesis did misgive ; and no person of judgment would censure for want of success when the proposal was probable ; but all the world would exclaim against that person or society, who through mistaken notions of honor, and positiveness of temper, would persist in pushing an experiment, contrary to all probability, to the ruin of the adventurers. How many methods may be found out by the wisdom of the trustees, for remedying this inconvenience, I know not ; one only occurs to me, which is, the admitting a certain number of negroes, sufficient to ease the white servants from those labors that are most fatal to a British constitution : I am very sensible of the inconveniences of an unlimited use of them in a frontier colony ; but am as sensible that those inconveniences may be prevented by prudent regulations ; and their admission for executing the more laborious parts of culture, made the means to attract numbers of white servants, who would otherwise fly

the place as a purgatory or charnel-house. If our labor and toil is not capable of providing mere necessities by cultivation of land, much less by trade ; for as all the neighboring colonies, by reason of their negroes, prosecute all branches of it at a sixth part of the expense we can ; they would forever preclude us of any benefit therefrom : and supposing what cannot be admitted, that the nation would consent to give a perpetual fund for making up all those deficiencies, what benefit could we accrue to the nation ? or what to the settlers, but a present bare subsistence ? and what the certain consequence but the bequeathing a numerous legacy of orphans to the care of providence, since no period of time can be affixed when such a support would enable us to provide for ourselves ? A second reason which disables us to improve either by land or trade, is our want of credit : You know very well, that both the mercantile and mechanic part of mankind, live more by credit than stock ; and the man who has a probable scheme of improving credit, is naturally intitled to it : As we have no stock further to dispense, either in cultivation or trade, we are reduced to need the support of credit ; which the present restrictions of our legal rights and titles to our land deprive us of. It is true, indeed the trustees have assured us, that those and other restrictions, are only temporary, and for the welfare of the first settlement, until a proper body of laws, which was upon the carpet, should be perfected ;

and I am far from disputing the reasonableness of that resolution, while either the public support or private stocks, kept us from needing credit; but that now the case is altered, the necessity of moving those restrictions is arrived, to preserve the remains of the colony not yet dissolved, and far too late for hundreds, whom necessity has dispersed in other corners of the world: this is a truth sir, too obvious to need further enlargement.

“ Hence it is clear we can insist on demanding our privileges as British subjects, from the trustees promises; but we likewise claim them as law, justice and property. Your excellency was pleased in the court-house of Savannah, to use a comparison to satisfy the minds of the people, of a man who would lend his horse but not his saddle, which one refusing another accepted of: this I humbly take it, no way meets the case: the king’s majesty was owner both of horse and saddle, of the lands and rights, and gave us both in his charter; we ask but what is there given us. The reliance on the public faith brought us to this colony, and to endeavor to obviate or disappoint the effects of those promises which tempted us here, were to justify the decoying us to misery, under the sanction of the royal authority, than which nothing could be more injurious to the fountain of honor. I shall suppose, that were full and ample rights given, that some idle persons, who had no judgment to value, or inclina-

tion to improve their properties, no affections for their families or relations, might dispose of their rights for a glass of rum ; but I absolutely deny that the colony could loose by such an exchange : I own that such persons were much safer if bound than at liberty ; but where the affections of the parent and the reason of the man die, the person is a fitter inhabitant for *moor-field* than *Georgia*. I must notice farther, that not only are parents incapable for want of credit, to provide for themselves, being necessitated to dispose of their servants for want of provisions ; but if they could, only their eldest son could reap the benefit, their younger children, however numerous, are left to be fed by him who feeds the ravens ; and if they have no children, their labor and substance descends to strangers : how sir, would you, or indeed any free born spirits, brook such a tenure ? are not our younger sons and daughters equally entitled to our bowels and affections ? and does human nature end with our first born, and not extend itself to the rest of our progeny and more distant relations ? and is it not inverting the order of nature, that the eldest son should not only enjoy a double portion, but exclude all the younger children ? and having an interest independent of the parents, how natural is it he should withdraw that obedience and subjection, which proceeds from parental authority and filial dependence ! the trustees are but a channel to convey to us the king's rights, and cannot in law or equi-

ty, and I dare say, will not abridge those rights. Can we suppose that we are singled out for a state of misery and servitude, and that so many honorable personages are instruments of it? far be the thoughts from us! the genius of the British nation, so remarkably zealous for liberty and the rights of mankind, will never suffer British subjects, who have not fled their country from crimes, but voluntarily proffered their services and resigned their *all*, upon the confidence of the public faith and the trustees honor, to accomplish a settlement upon the most dangerous point of his majesty's dominions: I say, it will never allow such to be deprived of public promises, or the natural liberties of British subjects; as we are on a frontier, where our lives and fortunes may more frequently come into dispute than other people's, our privileges and supports should be proportionably greater; for who would venture his life to secure no property, or fight to secure to himself poverty and misery? and no doubt our cunning and vigilant adversaries, the French and Spaniards, would know how to make their own advantage: the king has been very gracious, and your endeavors generous and useful, in procuring a regiment, and not only the support of the soldiers, but your own honor, glory and reputation, are intermixed with the fate of the colony, and must stand or fall with it.

“ To come closer to the point; please to consider the consequences of refusing the represen-

tation of the colony, whereof your excellency as one of the honorable board will be furnished with a copy, and how these consequences may affect the colony, the nation, the trustees, the military establishment in the province, the Indians, and your excellency.

“ As to the colony, the deferring hitherto the necessary relief, has already too tragically affected it, by dispersing a great part of the inhabitants ; the remainder in a languishing condition, supported more with faint hopes and a continued reliance on the honor of the nation and trustees, than victuals ; while want and meagre famine guard the doors of many, and render them equally incapable to stay or go : the town so beautifully situated to the honor of the contriver, bearing the most visible signs of decay and mortality before it is fully born ; and the once cultivated plantations now overgrown with weeds and brush, are so many *hic jacets* of such and such persons and families ! I wish it were possible to draw a veil over this tragic scene ! but sir, our case is more claimant than a thousand tongues, and will reach the ears and pierce the hearts of every free Britain. If such be the effects of delay, what will the total dissolution of the colony produce ? Such a body of miserable people, orphans and suppliants, will be heard by the justice of the nation ; and if it shall appear, that they too, positively adhering to an impracticable scheme, and the refusing those obvious means that would an-

swer the proposed end, or with-holding those just rights which we are entitled to, have been the cause ; we should have a right to recover damages from the authors of our misery : in all places where settlements were attempted by the English, and found untenable, the settlers were taken home upon public charge, their losses were recompensed, and they made otherwise useful to the community ; while we are neither allowed to do for ourselves here or elsewhere. As to the second point, how the nation would be affected by it : it is first obvious, that all the noble ends and advantages they proposed are lost, and sums of money expended to no purpose, but to inform the French and Spaniards of the importance of a pass which they would not fail to possess. It were impossible to make a second settlement upon the present plan, and if it is to be altered in favor of others, why not of us, who have risked and spent our all in the adventure ? How the trustees may be affected by it in all respects, I shall not say ; a parliamentary enquiry into their management, I no ways question but they would entirely satisfy ; but all good men will regret, that so honorable a body should lose that glory and fame, which the prosperous success of the colony would have crowned them with. I have formerly asserted, that only the flourishing state of the colony, can support the military ; and indeed without a colony, it were easier to maintain a garrison in Tangier on the coast of Africa, than in

the south of Georgia. One regiment would little suffice to withstand the enemy ; and yet so small a handful may be reduced to discontent, straits and want, notwithstanding all the bounty of a king, or prudence of a general. As to the Indians, what could we expect less than being scorned and despised ? that they should immediately fall in with the tempting proffers of the French and Spaniards, and so Great-Britain cut off from that valuable branch of the Indian trade ; for how indeed could they expect execution of treaties or protection from people who, without the force of an enemy, could not preserve their own schemes of government from falling to pieces. How the tragedy must affect your excellency, would be presumption in me to determine : I only know, that to see those you honor with the name of children, in want and misery ; that settlement which should have perpetuated your name to posterity with the greatest honor, become the foil of all your great undertakings, and the expectations of all the world, from your promising endeavors, setting in a cloud and obscurity, must affect your excellency in a way suitable to your humane and generous disposition.

“ Sir, we still love, honor and respect you, whatever low selfish minded persons, the bane of society, may surmise to the contrary ; and will continue to do so, while we can have any hopes of your pursuing measures consistent with our prosperity : but, sir, smiles cannot be expected

amidst disappointments and wants ; and there is no altering the course of nature. Love and gratitude are the tribute of favors and protections, and resentment the consequence of injuries received ; and in disappointments of this nature much more reasonably than in those of love, do the contrary passions take place in the same degree. What then remains, but that you embrace those obvious measures, that will retrieve our desperate affairs ; restore to us, in Mr. Oglethorpe, our father and protector, whose honor and affection was depended upon ; secure to yourself a society that loves and honors you ; and who will always be ready to sacrifice both life and fortune to your honor and protection ; and your name with blessings will be perpetuated. If in this I have, by a sincere and well meant freedom, given offence, I heartily ask pardon ; none was intended : and I only request, that while truth keeps the stage, the author may be allowed to remain incog, behind the scenes."

" THE PLAIN DEALER."

[This letter was attributed to the pen of Patrick Tailfer.]

When gen. Oglethorpe received this letter, he had devoted six years of the prime of his life to their service ; crossed the atlantic ocean five times ; spent a large portion of his private funds ; exposed his person to hardships in an inhospitable climate and to the dangers of the sea ; secluded himself from the society of a court, where he might have rolled in easy affluence and indulged

in luxury. These sacrifices were made without the expectation of any other reward, than the gratification of closing a well spent life, with the sweet consolation of having devoted a considerable portion of it to the good of his country, and to the happiness and advantage of his fellow-creatures.

Foreseeing that no bounds could be limited to the introduction of slaves, which would not be ruinous to the colony in its present situation, he determined to persevere in the prohibition of negroes, until the state of the country would justify a change of policy.

The darling object of general Oglethorpe, was to restrain the Spaniards to the south of St. Johns ; for which purpose he had a chain of forts from Augusta to the mouth of that river. The geography of the country at that time was very little known, and in support of his claim, in his discussions with the Spaniards, he contended that the St. Johns was the real southern branch of the Altamaha. His establishments on St. Simons and Jekyl, were very considerable and admirably built. His large brewery on Jekyl, furnished beer for all the troops in great abundance ; but notwithstanding his determination to keep ardent spirits out of the province, it was found impracticable after the arrival of his regiment, and so feeble were the exertions to suppress this uncontrollable desire of quaffing this nectar of the Scotch, that gen. Oglethorpe, while setting in the draw-

ing rooms of respectable settlers or officers, they would frequently retire to an adjoining room and indulge in the use of ardent spirits ; at the smell of which he would say—woe to the liquor if it came to his sight : that which he discovered was always thrown away. In short, we can have but feint ideas of the difficulties which he had to encounter, to preserve that kind of order and support those rules, which he thought best calculated for the government of the people.

Before the general returned from England, several merchants and captains of vessels, having their own interest only in view, carried into the colony from New-York and other places, large cargoes of provisions and other articles, which the store-keeper at Savannah had been bribed to purchase on account of the trustees, without their authority. The amounts were considerable and the funds were found unequal to the discharge of the debts. The trustees, having a due regard to their public credit, gave public notice, that all the expenses which they had ordered, or should thereafter order to be incurred in America, for the use of the colony, should be defrayed and paid for in Georgia, in sola bills of exchange only, under their seal : and that no person whatsoever had any authority from them, or in their name, or for their account, to purchase or receive any cargoes of provisions, stores or other necessities, without paying for them in the said sola bills.

The trustees, both by letters and instructions,

to their magistrates, had frequently exhorted and encouraged the people to the cultivation of their lands as a source on which they must soon depend for their support ; and as many of those who were sent over on the charity of the trustees, as well as others who had come from other colonies for a temporary maintenance, continuing in their idle habits, had become burthensome vagabonds ; they gave orders to discontinue supplies to those who neglected to cultivate their lands.

In the last year, the assembly of South-Carolina, passed an ordinance for raising a sum to indemnify their traders, in opposition to an act which was approved by his majesty in council, for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia : upon a memorial from the trustees complaining of the ordinance of Carolina, and upon a petition of the council and assembly of South-Carolina, against the act approved by his majesty, there was a solemn hearing before the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, and afterwards, before a committee of the lords of his majesty's privy council : Whereupon his majesty was pleased to order, that the said ordinance of South-Carolina, should be repealed and declared void ; and to instruct the trustees to prepare a proper act or ordinance, for settling the trade carried on by the provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia with the Indians, on such footing as might be mutually beneficial to both provinces ; which was notified to the gover-

nor of South-Carolina. General Oglethorpe was also furnished with a copy, accompanied with instructions, to consult with lieut. governor Bull; that the result of their deliberations might be transmitted to the trustees for their consideration; and that in the mean time, the commissioners of the two provinces, might proceed to concert such measures as to carry on a mutual trade with the Indians in both provinces.

William Stephens, who had lately been appointed secretary in Georgia, informed the trustees that the grand jury at Savannah, claimed the right of administering oaths, and making enquiry thereon, into all such matters as they should think fit; and the trustees having perceived in a representation from them, that they had exercised such power, Stephens was instructed to acquaint them, that the trustees were sensible of the mischievous consequences which might arise from the exercise of such power, by having themselves placed upon the pannel, if this claim of the grand jury was admitted.

In another letter received by the trustees from Stephens, he renewed the representation of the uneasiness and discontents which prevailed amongst the people, against the tenures upon which they held their lands, and related many instances of injustice being practised by the male heir, against the widowed mother and her other children. He urged for their consideration that the colony had been so long established, the inhabitants be-

come so numerous, and a regiment being stationed in the province for its defence; the former tenure had become less necessary: accordingly on the 15th of March 1739, at their annual meeting, the trustees passed a resolution, that in default of male issue, any legal possessor of land, might by a deed in writing, or by his last will and testament, appoint his daughter as his successor, or any other male or female relation; with a proviso, that the successor should in the proper court in Georgia, personally claim the lot granted or devised, within eighteen months after the decease of the grantor or deviser. This privilege was soon after extended to every legal possessor, who was empowered to appoint any other person to be his successor. Whilst the trustees were employed in altering their former regulations for the satisfaction of the colonists, the petitions were received, for and against the introduction of negroes. It is worthy of remark, that the industrious Germans and Highlanders, who were busily employed in the cultivation of their farms, were opposed to the principles of slavery. These were forcible arguments in favor of an adherence to their former plans and regulations, and no doubt formed the basis on which the rejection of the petition from Savannah was founded.

While the general was preparing his colony for defence against the invasion of an enemy, and harassed and perplexed with the complaints of his settlers, treason had found its way into the

centre of his camp, and a deep laid plot had been planned to assassinate him. Two companies of his regiment had been drawn from Gibraltar, some of whom could speak the Spanish language: detachments from these companies had been stationed on Cumberland Island, and the Spanish out-posts on the other side, could approach so near as to converse with them: one man of these companies had been in the Spanish service, and not only understood their language, but had so much of the old Roman Catholic spirit, as to feel an aversion to the Protestant religion. The Spaniards had found through this villain the means of corrupting the minds of several of the British soldiers, and they united in forming a design to murder general Oglethorpe, and then make their escape to Augustine. Accordingly the day was fixed, and the soldiers who were concerned in the plot, came up to the general, and made some extraordinary demands, as a pretext for the execution of their diabolical purposes; which as they expected, being refused, a signal being given which was well understood, one of them discharged his piece at the general, and being only at the distance of a few paces, the ball passed over his shoulder, and the powder burned his face and singed his cloathes: another presented his piece and attempted to fire, but the powder only flashed in the pan; a third drew his hanger and endeavored to stab him: the general by this time, having drawn his sword, parried the thrust, and an offi-

cer came up, run the ruffian through the body and killed him upon the spot. The mutineers discouraged by the failure of their first effort, attempted to escape by flight, but were caught and laid in irons. A court martial was ordered to try the ring-leaders of this desperate conspiracy, some of whom were found guilty and sentenced to be shot. Thus miraculously the general escaped, and the principal conspirators fell victims to that fate, which their conduct had so justly merited.

Another and more dreadful effort of Spanish policy, was attempted to be practiced about the same time in South-Carolina, and would, if it had succeeded, have been attended with the most fatal, bloody and dreadful consequences. Emissaries had been sent from Augustine to Carolina, with a design to stir up an insurrection amongst the negroes, whose number had by that time amounted to forty thousand, while the white population was estimated at about one eighth of that number. This race of people whose constitutions were adapted to the climate, and who could not be supposed to be contented in slavery, would grasp with avidity at the most desperate attempts which promised freedom. Long had liberty and protection been promised and proclaimed to them, by the Spaniards at Augustine, nor were the negroes strangers to the proclamation. At different times the emissaries of Spain had been detected in tampering with them, and

the present moment seemed to be favorable for the adoption of the means of depopulating Carolina, and consequently Georgia, by a general massacre. The governor of Florida had formed a regiment of these refugees, and appointed officers from amongst themselves, allowing them the same pay, clothing, subsistence and other privileges, with the regular Spanish soldiers. The slaves of Carolina were aware of these inducements, and when they ran away from their masters, directed their course to Augustine. At length negro serjeants were employed on the recruiting service, and had a secret rendezvous in Carolina. Two Spaniards were seized in Georgia and committed to prison, for enticing slaves from Carolina to join this regiment : five negroes belonging to captain M'Pherson, who had been employed in herding cattle ; after wounding his son, and killing another man, made their escape to Florida and were protected : at length a number of negroes collected at Stono, hoisted their standard, proclaimed open rebellion, marched through the country with drums beating and colours flying ; plundered and burned several houses, and murdered men, women and children ; and but for the circumstance of the white men's carrying their guns with them to church, from a dread of the Indians, a most bloody scene must have ensued. The whole country was in a state of terror and consternation, expecting to be sacrificed to the power and indiscriminate fury of

their slaves : fortunately the armed men from the church made a judicious attack upon their head quarters and they were dispersed. When the governor of South-Carolina advised general Oglethorpe of the insurrection, he doubled his vigilance in Georgia, and seized all straggling spaniards and negroes, who were found passing through the province.

In the mean time matters were hastening to a rupture in Europe, and a war between Great-Britain and Spain appeared to be unavoidable. The plenipotentiaries appointed for settling the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, and other differences subsisting between the two crowns, had met at Pardo in convention, where preliminaries were drawn up ; but the conference ended unsatisfactorily to both parties. The proposal of a negociation and the appointment of plenipotentiaries, gave universal offence to the people of England, who breathed nothing but war and vengeance against the proud and arrogant Spaniards : hostile preparations were made ; all the officers of the navy and army were ordered to their stations, and with the unanimous voice of the nation, war was declared against Spain on the 23d of October, 1739.

The settlers of Georgia had not increased with that rapidity which had been anticipated by the trustees, nor was its condition by any means flourishing, considering the immense sums of money which they had expended. The number

of the former, and the amount of the latter, up to this period, will be satisfactory to the reader.

Number of Inhabitants, as added from the first year.	Contributions.		
	<i>L.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>D.</i>
First year.....152 . . .	3,723	13	7
Second do.....341 . . .	11,502	19	3
Third do.....81 . . .	31,416	7	7
Fourth do.....470 . . .	2,164	19	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Fifth do.....32 . . .	13,627	18	7
Sixth do.....298 . . .	20,909	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Seventh do.....9 . . .	8,473	9	4
Eighth do.....138 . . .	20,181	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/>			
Total.....1,521	112,000	12	0 $\frac{3}{4}$

The people above mentioned were brought to Georgia and supported at the expense of the trustees : those who came at their own expense and supported themselves, are not included, nor is the number of them known.

It appears from this calculation, that the poor people brought to Georgia by the trustees, cost them three hundred and thirty dollars each. Nine hundred and fifteen persons of the number above-mentioned, were British subjects, and six hundred and six were foreign protestants ; and of the whole, six hundred and eighty-six, were men capable of bearing arms.

Ninety-four thousand pounds of the above amount, was appropriated by the British parliament, and the balance, raised by private contributions.

The answer of the trustees to the representation from the inhabitants of Savannah, the 9th of December 1738, for altering the tenure of their lands, and introducing negroes into the colony, was received in September, 1739.

*“ To the magistrates of the town of Savannah,
in the province of Georgia.”*

“ The trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America, have received by the hands of Mr. Benjamin Ball, of London, merchant, an attested copy of a representation, signed by you the magistrates, and many of the inhabitants of Savannah, on the 9th of December last, for altering the tenure of the lands, and introducing negroes into the province, transmitted from thence by Mr. Robert Williams.

“ The trustees are not surprised to find unwary people drawn in by crafty men, to join in a design of extorting by clamor from the trustees, an alteration of the fundamental laws, framed for the preservation of the people, from those very designs. But the trustees cannot but express their astonishment, that you the magistrates, appointed by them to be the guardians of the people, by putting those laws in execution, should so far forget your duty, as to put yourselves at the head of this attempt. However, they direct you to give the complainants this answer from the trustees, that they should deem themselves very unfit for the trust reposed in them by his majes-

ty on their behalf, if they could be prevailed upon by such an irrational attempt, to give up a constitution, framed with the greatest caution, for the preservation of liberty and property ; and of which the laws against the use of slaves and for the entail of lands, are the surest foundations.

“ And the trustees are the more confirmed in their opinion of the unreasonableness of this demand, because they have received petitions, from Darien, and other parts of the province, representing the inconvenience and danger, which must arise to the good people of the province from the introduction of negroes ; and as the trustees themselves are fully convinced, that besides the hazard attending that introduction, it would destroy all industry among the white inhabitants ; and that by giving them a power to alien their lands, the colony would soon be too much like its neighbors ; void of white inhabitants, filled with blacks, and reduced to the precarious property of a few, equally exposed to domestic treachery, and foreign invasion ; and therefore the trustees cannot be supposed to be in any disposition of granting this request ; and if they have not before this signified their dislike of it, this delay is to be imputed to no other motives, but the hopes they had conceived, that time and experience would bring the complainants to a better mind : and the trustees readily join issue with them in their appeal to posterity, who shall judge between them, who were their best friends ;

those who endeavored to preserve for them a property in their lands, by tying up the hands of their unthrifty progenitors? or they who wanted a power to mortgage, or alien them? who were the best friends to the colony; those who with great labor and cost had endeavored to form a colony of his majesty's subjects, and persecuted protestants from other parts of Europe, had placed them on a fruitful soil, and strove to secure them in their possessions, by those acts which naturally tend to keep the colony full of useful and industrious people, capable both of cultivating and defending it? or those who, to gratify the greedy and ambitious views of a few negro merchants, would put it in their power to become sole owners of the province, by introducing their baneful commodity; which it is well known by sad experience, has brought the neighboring colony to the brink of ruin, by driving out their white inhabitants, who were their glory and strength, to make room for the blacks, who are now become the terror of their unadvised masters."

"Signed by order of the trustees, 20th of June, 1739.

BENJ. MARTYN, *Secretary.*"

This letter was accompanied by new commissions for magistrates: Thomas Christie, first; John Fallowfield, second; and Thomas Jones, third bailiffs; and William Williamson, recorder. The inhabitants remarked that if they had not

been sufficiently scourged before, this change in the executive authority would make their punishment complete. That Thomas Jones, surpassed Causton in all his bad qualities, without possessing any of his good ones, and that he might govern without control, Oglethorpe had thought proper to supersede the commissions of Christie and Williamson, and continued Henry Parker, as first magistrate, who would always support the interest of the store-keeper, Jones: therefore Fallowfield would be over-ruled, and all the powers of government would be vested in the other two; the people again complained to the trustees, but without effect.

William Stephens, Thomas Christie, and Thomas Jones, Esqrs. were appointed to examine Causton's accounts, but it is said they were never satisfactorily settled. Causton was removed for mal-practice in office.

Notwithstanding the determination of the trustees, entered into, on the 20th of June, they again assembled on the 28th of August, 1739, and entered into the following resolutions, relating to the grants and tenure of lands in the colony of Georgia.

“ Whereas the common council of the said trustees, assembled for that purpose in the name of the corporation of the said trustees, and under their common seal; have in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious letters patent, and in execution of the trust reposed in them, granted and

conveyed divers portions of the lands, tenements and hereditaments, in the said letters patent mentioned to many of his majesty's loving subjects, natural born, and denizens, and others willing to become his subjects, and to live under allegiance to his majesty in the said colony, to hold to them respectively, and to the heirs male of their respective bodies, lawfully begotten, or to be begotten ; under their several rents, reservations, conditions and provisions therein contained : and whereas it has been represented to the said trustees, that many of the persons to whom such grants have been made, have no male issue of their respective bodies, and that an alteration in the grants and tenure of the said lands, upon failure of such issue, and likewise a known and certain provision for the widows of tenants in tail male, would not only encourage all such persons cheerfully, to go on with their several improvements, but also be an inducement and means of inviting divers other persons to resort to, and settle in the said colony, and greatly tend to the cultivation of the lands, the increase of the people, and the defence, strength and security of the said colony ; which the said trustees most earnestly desire to promote as far as in them lies ; it is therefore this day unanimously resolved by the common council of the said corporation, assembled for that purpose, that the grants of lands or tenements within the said colony heretofore made, and hereafter to be made by the said trustees, to any person or per-

sons whatsoever, shall be altered, made and established in manner and form following ; that is to say, that if a tenant in tail male of lands or tenements in the said colony, not having done or suffered any act, matter or thing, whereby his estate therein may be forfeited or determined, shall happen to die, leaving a widow and one or more child or children ; that then and in such case, the widow of such tenant shall hold and enjoy the dwelling house and garden, (if any such there be) and one moiety of such land and tenements, for and during the term of her life ; the said moiety to be set out and divided ; and in case the parties interested therein, do not agree within the space of three months, by the magistrates of the town court in Georgia, nearest thereto, or any one of them—and in case such division be made by one of such magistrates only, then any person, or persons, finding him, her or themselves, aggrieved thereby, may within the space of three months, appeal to the other three magistrates of the said town court, whose determination thereof shall be final. And if such tenant shall happen to die, leaving only a widow, and no child or children, then that such widow shall hold and enjoy the said dwelling house, garden and all such lands and tenements, for and during the term of her life.— And in case the widow of any such tenant, whether he die without issue by her or not, shall marry again after his decease, then such person to

whom she shall be so married, shall within the space of twelve months after such marriage, give security to the said trustees, and their successors, whether personal or otherwise, agreeable to such instructions as shall be given by the common council of the said trustees, for maintaining and keeping in repair, during such marriage, the said dwelling house, garden and other premises, to which she shall be so entitled in right of her former husband : And if such security shall not be given in manner aforesaid, within the space of twelve months after such marriage, that then, and in such case, the provision hereby made, or intended to be made for the benefit of such widows, shall cease, determine and be absolutely void, to all intents and purposes ; and the said dwelling house and garden, and all and singular the premises, shall be and enure to such child or children, or such other person or persons, who would be entitled to the same, in case the said widow was naturally dead.

“ And if tenant in tail male of lands or tenements in the said colony, not having done or suffered any act, matter or thing, whereby his or her estate therein may be forfeited or determined, shall happen to die, leaving one or more daughter or daughters, and no male issue ; then that such lands and tenements, if not exceeding eighty acres, shall be holden in tail male by any one of the daughters of such tenant ; and if exceeding eighty acres, by any one or more of the daugh-

ters of such tenant in tail male, as such tenant shall by his or her last will and testament in writing, duly executed in the presence of three or more credible witnesses, direct and appoint ; and in default of such direction and appointment, then that such lands and tenements shall be holden in tail male by the eldest of such daughters ; and in default of issue male and female, either born in the life time of such tenant in tail male, or within nine months after his decease, then that such lands and tenements, if not exceeding eighty acres, shall be holden in tail male by any one such person ; and if exceeding eighty acres, by any one or more such person or persons, as such tenant in tail male by his or her last will and testament in writing, executed as aforesaid, shall direct and appoint ; and in default of such direction or appointment, then that such lands and tenements, shall be holden in tail male by the heirs at law of such tenant ; subject nevertheless, in all and every of the said cases, to such right of the widow (if any) as aforesaid, provided that such daughter or daughters, and all and every such person or persons, so entitled to hold and enjoy such lands and tenements, do within the space of twelve months after the death of such tenant, personally appear, if residing in America, and claim the same in any of the town courts in Georgia ; and if residing out of America, then within the space of eighteen months next after the death of such tenant : and provided also, that no such

devise or appointment, shall be made by such tenant of lands exceeding eighty acres, in any lesser or smaller portion or parcel than fifty acres to any one daughter, or other person : and that no daughter or other person shall be capable of enjoying any devise, which may thereby increase his or her former possession of lands within the said colony, to more than five hundred acres ; but such devise to be void, and the lands thereby given, to descend in such manner as if no such devise had been made. And in default of such appearance and claim, as aforesaid, that all and singular such lands and tenements shall be, and remain to the said trustees and their successors, for ever : Provided also, that all and every such estates hereby created or intended to be created, shall be subject and liable to the several rents, reservations, provisoes and conditions, as in the original grants thereof are particularly mentioned and contained ; save and except so much thereof as is hereby altered, or intended to be altered, in case of failure of male issue, and the provision hereby made or intended to be made for widows.

“ And that in every grant hereafter to be made by the said trustees or their successors, of any lands or tenements in the said colony, all and every grantee therein named, not doing or suffering any act, matter or thing whereby his or her estate therein may be forfeited or determined, shall have good right, full power, and lawful authority to give and devise the same by his or her

last will and testament in writing, duly executed in the presence of three or more credible witnesses, in manner and form following, viz. Every grantee of lands not exceeding eighty acres, to any one son or any one daughter in tail male, and every grantee of lands exceeding eighty acres, the whole or any part thereof, but not in lesser lots or portions than fifty acres to any one devisee, to his or her son or sons, daughter or daughters in tail male ; and in default of such devise as aforesaid, then that such lands and tenements shall descend to the eldest son in tail male ; and in default of male issue, to the eldest daughter in tail male ; and in default of issue male and female, then that such lands and tenements shall be holden in tail male, if not exceeding eighty acres, by any one such person, and if exceeding eighty acres, by any one or more such person or persons, but in any smaller lot or portion than fifty acres to any one person as such grantee shall by his or her last will and testament in writing, executed as aforesaid, direct and appoint ; and in default of such direction or appointment, then that such lands and tenements shall be holden in tail male by the heir at law of such grantee ; subject nevertheless to such right of the widow (if any) as aforesaid, provided always, that no son, daughter or other person, shall be capable of enjoying any devise which may thereby increase his or her former possession of land within the said colony, to more than five hundred acres, but

such devise to be void and the lands thereby given, to descend in such manner as if no such devise had been made : Provided also, that such son or sons, daughter or daughters, and all and every such person or persons entitled to hold and enjoy any such lands and tenements, do within the space of twelve months after the death of such grantee, of those under whom they claim, personally appear, if residing in America, and claim the same in any of the town courts in Georgia ; and if residing out of America, then within the space of eighteen months next after such death ; and in default of such appearance and claim as aforesaid, that all and singular the said lands and tenements shall be and remain to the said trustees, and their successors forever. And provided also, that all and every such estates shall be subject and liable to the like rents, reversions, provisoes and conditions, as in the former grants of lands heretofore made, save and except so much thereof as is hereby altered, upon the failure of male issue.

“ And it is hereby required, that public notice of these resolutions be forthwith given by the magistrates of the respective town courts in Georgia, and also by the secretary of the said trustees in London, that all and every the grantees of lands and tenements within the said colony, may enter their respective claims, either at the Georgia office, near old palace yard in Westminster, or in any of the town courts in Georgia, within the

space of twelve months from the date hereof, to the end that they may receive the benefit hereby intended, and that proper grants and conveyances in the law may be forthwith prepared and executed for that purpose. And it is hereby expressly declared, that no fee or reward shall be taken for the entering of any such claim, directly or indirectly, by any person or persons whatsoever.

Signed by order of the said common council,
BENJAMIN MARTYN, Secretary."

These resolutions were published by paragraphs in a Charleston Gazette, but as they were not well understood, Stephens was requested on a certain day, to read them entire at the courthouse, and explain them as he went on—after he had finished this task, and exerted his utmost abilities in giving an explanation, one of the settlers, ludicrously remarked, that the whole paper consisted of *males* and *tails*, and that all the lawyers in London would not be able to bring the meaning down to his comprehension; and that he understood as little of its meaning then, as he had when Stephens began—others wished to know how often those two words had occurred in the resolutions, that the number ought to be preserved as a curiosity; and that the author of it ought to be lodged in bedlam for lunacy.

In 1739, general Oglethorpe informed the trustees, that he had been advised through a variety of sources, that the Spaniards had been tampering

with the Indians by every possible means, to bring them into a war against the British colonies, and suggested the necessity of his taking a journey into the nation, for the purpose of adopting measures to defeat a scheme, which would be so injurious to the settlement of Georgia: and that a general assembly of the nations which was soon to be held at the Coweta town, four hundred miles from Frederica, afforded a favorable opportunity for the accomplishment of his purposes; and the more effectually to destroy the seditious designs of the Spaniards, he should carry with him several pack-horse loads of goods to be distributed amongst the Indians as presents: accordingly, and in compliance with a promise he made the preceding year, he travelled through the nations as far as the Cowetas, where he conferred with the deputies of the Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws: he was received with the greatest hospitality and friendship, and after smoaking the pipe of peace, drinking sofkey, black-drink, and passing through the various ceremonies of their ancestors; they unitedly declared, that they remained firm in their former love to the king of Great-Britain and his subjects, and adhered to all the engagements of amity and commerce, entered into with the general as the representative of the trustees of Georgia. By this treaty* it was further declared that all the dominions, territories and lands between the Savannah and St. John's

* See Appendix No. 3.

rivers, including all the islands; and from the St. John's river to the Apalachie bay, and thence to the mountains; do by ancient right belong to the Creek nation; and that they would not suffer either the Spaniards, or any other people, excepting the trustees of the colony of Georgia, to settle their lands. They also acknowledged the grant which they formerly had made to the trustees, of all the lands on Savannah river, as far as the river Ogechee, and all the lands along the sea coast as far as St. John's river, and as high as the tide flowed; and all the islands, particularly St. Simons, Cumberland and Amelia; and that they reserved to the Creek nation all the lands from Pipe-makers bluff to Savannah, and the islands of St. Catharine, Ossabaw and Sapelo; and further declared, that the said lands were held by the Creek nation as tenants in common. Oglethorpe, as commissioner of George the second, declared that the English should not enlarge or take up any lands, excepting those granted as above mentioned, to the trustees, by the Creek nation, and covenanted that he would punish any person, who should intrude upon the lands, so reserved by that nation. This treaty was concluded on the 21st of August, 1739.

This judicious arrangement was well timed and proved advantageous to the public. It was just closed when he received an express from secretary Stephens, enclosing a letter from Col. Bull, lieutenant governor of South Carolina, with intel-

ligence from lieutenant governor Clarke of New-York, stating that the French had marched from Mont-Real, with a body of two hundred regular troops, and five hundred Indians, who were to be reinforced by French and Indians on their route, and that this army was designed against the Indians in friendship with his Britannic majesty's subjects in South-Carolina and Georgia, who are situated near some branches of the Mississippi river. The general apprised the Indians of the danger with which they were threatened, and after mutual promises of perpetual friendship, he returned to Georgia.

While admiral Vernon was sent to take the command of a squadron on the West-India station, with orders to act offensively against the Spanish dominions in that quarter, to divide their force, General Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the subjects of Spain in Florida, by every method in his power : in consequence of which the General projected an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine ; this design he communicated to Governor Bull, requesting the support and assistance of Carolina in the expedition. Bull laid his letter before the provincial assembly, recommending to them to raise a regiment, and give him all possible assistance in an enterprise of such interesting consequence. The assembly, sensible of the great advantages that must accrue to them from getting rid of such troublesome neighbors, resolved, that so soon as the General

should communicate to them his plan of operations, together with a statement of the assistance requisite, at the same time making it appear that there was a probability of success, they would most cheerfully assist him.

The Carolinians however, were apprehensive that as the garrison at Augustine had proved such a painful thorn in time of peace, they would have more to dread from it in time of war. The people nevertheless lent a favorable ear to the proposal, and earnestly wished the dislodgement of so malicious an enemy. General Oglethorpe was busily engaged in collecting all the intelligence he could, respecting the situation and strength of Augustine, and finding it was not well supplied with provisions, urged the execution of his project at the favorable moment, with a hope of surprising the enemy before a supply should arrive. He declared that no personal toil or danger should discourage him from exerting himself towards freeing Carolina from such neighbors, as had instigated their slaves to massacre them, and publicly protected them, after such bloody attempts. That measures might be concerted with the greatest secrecy and expedition, he went to Charleston in person, and laid before the legislature of Carolina, an estimate of the force, arms, ammunition and provisions, which he judged might be requisite for the expedition. The assembly voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds Carolina money for the expen-

ses of the war—a regiment consisting of four hundred men was raised in Virginia and the Carolinas, with the greatest expedition, and the command given to colonel Vanderdussen: Indians in alliance with the British colonies, were invited to join in the expedition. Vincent Price, commander of the ships of war on that station, agreed to assist with a naval force of four twenty gun ships and two sloops, which encouraged the Carolinians to be more vigorous in their military preparations. Gen. Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, for the place of rendezvous, and having finished his arrangements in Carolina, returned to Georgia, to put his regiment in readiness for the expedition. On the 9th of May, 1740, the general passed over to Florida, with four hundred select men of his own regiment, and a considerable party of Indians, and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort twenty-five miles from Augustine, which after a short resistance surrendered by capitulation. In this fort, he left a garrison of sixty men, under the command of lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment, and a company of highlanders from Darien, commanded by captain M'Intosh. Before the Carolina troops arrived at St. Johns, six Spanish half galleys, with long brass nine pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into the harbor at Augustine; this was a sore and unexpected,

stroke to the general's hopes : when the Carolina troops arrived, he marched with his whole force consisting of about two thousand regulars, provincials and Indians, to fort Moosa, situated within two miles of Augustine, which was evacuated on his approach, and the garrison retired into the town ; he destroyed the gates, opened breaches into the fort-walls, and proceeded to reconnoitre the town and castle. Notwithstanding the despatch of his army, the Spaniards during his halt at fort Diego, had collected all the cattle from the neighboring woods and driven them into the town ; and the general found, from a view of the works, and the intelligence he received from prisoners, that there would be more difficulty attending this enterprise than he had at first expected : it is probable he might have been successful if he had not halted at Diego, but pressed all his force immediately against Augustine ; for by the delay occasioned at that place, and the tardy movements of the Carolina troops, the enemy had notice of his approach, gathered in all their force, and put themselves in a posture for defence ; besides the acquisition of the garrison of Moosa, which might probably have been cut off. The castle was a regular work, built of soft stone, with four bastions, the curtain sixty yards long, the parapet nine feet thick, the rampart twenty feet high, casements beneath for lodgings, arched over and newly made, bomb-proof : fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, several of which were twenty-

four pounders : besides the castle, the town was entrenched with ten salient angles, mounted with small cannon. The garrison consisted of seven hundred regulars, two troops of horse, four companies of armed negroes, besides the militia of the province and Indians, with a considerable supply of provisions, and the command of a fine fishery. The general plainly perceived that an attack by land upon the town, and an attempt to take the castle by storm, would not only cost him a great deal of blood, but probably fail, therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war which were then lying at anchor off the bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and close every channel by which any additional stock of provisions could be conveyed to the garrison : for this purpose he left colonel Palmer with ninety-five highlanders and forty-two Indians at fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods round the town, and intercept all supplies from the country by land ; and for the safety of his men, ordered the encampment to be changed every night, to keep a strict watch, and by all means avoid coming to a general action. This small party composed the whole force left for guarding the land side ; colonel Vanderdussen's regiment was sent over a small creek to take possession of a neck of land called Poin Quartel, about a mile from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it ; while the general with his regiment and the greatest part of the Indians

embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia ; on this island there was a small party of troops stationed as a guard, who, on his approach fled to the town, and as it lay opposite to the castle, the general considered it a favorable position for bombarding the castle and town ; captain Pierce stationed one of his ships to guard the passage, by way of the Matanzas, and with the others, blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. On the island of Anastatia, batteries were soon erected, and several cannon mounted by the assistance of the active and enterprising sailors : having made these dispositions, general Oglethorpe summoned the Spanish governor to a surrender, but the haughty Don, secure in his strong hold, replied, that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle.

The opportunity of surprising the place being lost, the general had no other secure method left but to attack it at the distance he then stood.— For this purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit from the Spanish fort and from the six half gallies in the harbor, but so great was the distance, that though they continued the cannonade for several days, little execution was done on either side. Captain Warren of the navy perceiving that all efforts in this way, for demolishing the castle were vain and ineffectual, pro-

posed to destroy the Spanish galleys in the harbor, by an attack in the night, and offered to head the attempt himself : a council was held to consider of and concert a plan for that service ; but upon sounding the bar, it was found that it would admit no large ship to the attack, and with small ones it was judged rash and impracticable, the galleys being covered by the cannon of the castle, and therefore the design was relinquished. In the mean time the Spanish governor observing the besiegers embarrassed, and their operations beginning to relax, sent out a detachment of three hundred men against col. Palmer, who surprised him at fort Moosa, while most of his party were asleep, and cut them almost entirely to pieces ; captain M'Intosh was taken prisoner and suffered severe and cruel treatment : so inveterate were the Spaniards against every officer of courage and merit, who were zealous in support of the colony of Georgia, and so anxious that the English settlements should be removed, that the officers were closely confined, and the soldiers incarcerated in dungeons ; captain M'Intosh was sent to old Spain where he remained a prisoner at Madrid for many months, and was finally exchanged and returned to Darien in Georgia. A few who accidentally escaped the massacre at fort Moosa, went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. Some of the Chickesaw Indians coming from that fort, having met with a Spaniard, cut off his head, agreeably to their savage man-

ner of waging war, and presented it to the general in his camp, as a trophy of valor ; but he rejected it with abhorrence, calling them barbarous dogs and bidding them begone : at this disdainful behavior, the Chickesaws were offended, declaring if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would not have treated them with contempt : perhaps on this occasion the general discovered more humanity than policy: the Indians soon after deserted him ; about the same time the vessel stationed at the Matanzas being ordered off, some small vessels from the Havanna with provisions, and a reinforcement of men got into Augustine, by that narrow channel, to the relief of the garrison. A party of the Creeks having surprised one of their small boats, brought four Spanish prisoners to the general, who informed him that the garrison had received seven hundred men, and a large supply of provisions ; then all prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The Carolina troops enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, decamped in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of hurricanes approaching, the commander judged it imprudent to hazard the ships any longer on the coast. Last of all, the general himself, sick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with sorrow and regret re-

turned to Frederica the 10th of July. Thus ended the unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, to the great disappointment of Carolina and Georgia, and the extreme mortification of the general. Many illiberal reflections were thrown out against Oglethorpe for his conduct during the whole enterprise; scarcely one of his measures escaped the animadversions of those who felt an interest in the success of the undertaking: every silly babbler pointed out a plan, which if pursued, must have been successful; when perhaps the truth was, that under all circumstances, there were but few generals, who could have conducted the enterprise with more skill, than Oglethorpe. Taking into view that he had only four hundred regular troops; that the remainder were undisciplined militia and Indians; that his enemy was secured by an impenetrable castle, finished in the highest order, well manned and provided; it only appears astonishing that he returned without a defeat, and the destruction of his army.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN the general returned from Augustine, he was bitterly and cruelly attacked by newsmongers and pamphleteers, as will be seen by the dedication of a pamphlet printed in South-Carolina, of which the following is a copy : this pamphlet is probably from the pen of the “ *Plain Dealer*.”

“ To his excellency James Oglethorpe, Esq. general and commander in chief of his majesty’s forces in South-Carolina and Georgia, and one of the honorable trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, &c.

“ May it please your Excellency,

“ As the few surviving remains of the colony of Georgia, find it necessary to present the world, particularly Great-Britain, with a true state of the province, from its first rise to its present period ; your excellency of all mankind, is best entitled to the dedication, as the principal author of its present strength and affluence, freedom and prosperity ; and though incontestible truths will recommend the following narrative to the patient and attentive reader ; yet your name sir, will be no little ornament to the frontispiece, and may possibly engage some courteous perusers a little beyond it. That dedication and flattery are synonymous, is the complaint of every dedicatory, who concludes himself ingenious and fortunate, if he can discover a less trite and direct

method of flattering than is usually practiced ; but we are happily prevented from the least intention of this kind, by the repeated offerings of the muses and news-writers to your excellency in the public papers ; it were presumptuous even to dream of equaling or increasing them : we therefore flatter ourselves, that nothing we can advance will in the least shock your excellency's modesty ; nor nothing but your goodness will pardon any deficiency of elegance and politeness, on account of your sincerity and the serious truths with which we have the honor to approach you.

“ We have seen the ancient custom of sending forth colonies, for the improvement of any distant territory, or new acquisition, continued down to ourselves ; but to your excellency alone it is owing, that the world is made acquainted with a plan, highly refined from those of former projectors. They fondly imagined it necessary to communicate to such young settlements, the fullest right and properties, all the immunities of their mother countries, and privileges rather more extensive : by such means indeed, these colonies flourished with early trade and affluence : but your excellency's concern for our perpetual welfare, could never permit you to propose such transitory advantages for us : you considered riches like a divine and a philosopher, as the *irritamenta malorum*, and knew that they were disposed to inflate weak minds with pride, to pamper the body with luxury, and introduce a long variety of

evils. Thus have you protected us from ourselves, as Mr. Waller says, by keeping all earthly comforts from us : you have afforded us the opportunity of arriving at the integrity of the primitive times, by entailing a more than primitive poverty upon us. The toil that is necessary to our bare subsistence, must effectually defend us from the anxieties of any further ambition : as we have no properties to feed vain glory and beget contention ; so we are not puzzled with any system of laws, to ascertain and establish them : the valuable virtue of humanity is secured to us by your care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing any negroes, (the only human creature proper to improve our soil) lest our simplicity might mistake the poor Africans for greater slaves than ourselves : and that we might fully receive the spiritual benefit of those wholesome austerities, you have wisely denied us the use of those spirituous liquors, which might in the least divert our minds from the contemplation of our happy circumstances.

“ Our subject swells upon us ; and did we allow ourselves to indulge the inclination, without considering our weak abilities, we should be tempted to launch out into many of your excellency’s extraordinary endowments, which do not so much regard the affair on hand ; but as this would lead us beyond the bounds of the dedication, so would it engross a subject too extensive for us, to the prejudice of other authors and pan-

egyrist; we shall therefore confine ourselves to that remarkable scene of your conduct, whereby Great-Britain in general, and the settlers of Georgia in particular, are laid under such inexpressible obligations.

“ Be pleased then, great sir, to accompany our heated imaginations, in taking a view of this colony of Georgia ! this child of your auspicious politics ! arrived at the utmost vigour of its constitution, at a term when most former states have been struggling through the convulsions of their infancy. This early maturity however, lessens our admiration, that your excellency lives to see (what few founders ever aspired after) the great decline and almost final termination of it. So many have finished their course during the progress of the experiment, and such numbers have retreated from the phantoms of poverty and slavery, which their cowardly imaginations pictured to them, that you may justly vaunt with the boldest hero of them all—

.....Like Death you reign,
O'er silent subjects and a desert plain.

BUSIRIS.

“ Yet must your enemies (if you have any) be reduced to confess, that no ordinary statesman could have digested in the like manner, so capacious a scheme, such a copious jumble of power and politics. We shall content ourselves with

observing, that all those beauteous models of government, which the little states of Germany exercise, and those extensive liberties which the boors of Poland enjoy, were designed to concentrate in your system, and were we to regard the modes of government, we must have been strangely unlucky to have missed of the best, where there was the appearance of so great a variety ; for under the influence of our perpetual dictator, we have seen something like aristocracy, oligarchy, as well as the triumvirate, decemvirate, and consular authority of famous republics, which have expired many ages before us : what wonder then that we share the same fate ! do their towns and villages exist but in story and rubbish ? we are all over ruins ; our public works, forts, wells, high-ways, light-houses, store, water-mills, &c. are dignified like theirs with the same venerable desolation. The log-houses indeed, are like to be the last forsaken spots of your empire ; yet even these, though the death or desertion of those would continue to inhabit them, must suddenly decay ; the bankrupt jailor himself shall be soon denied the privilege of human conversation ; and when this last monument of the spell expires, the whole shall vanish like an illusion of some eastern magician.

“ But let not this solitary prospect impress your excellency with any fears of having your services to mankind, and to the settlers of Georgia in particular, buried in oblivion ; for if we diminu-

tive authors, are allowed to prophesy, (as you know poets in those cases formerly did) we may confidently presage, that while the memoirs of America continue to be read in English, Spanish, or the language of the Scots highlanders, your excellency's exploits and epocha, will be transmitted to posterity.

“ Should your excellency apprehend the least tincture of flattery in any thing already hinted, we may sincerely assure you, we intend nothing that our sentiments did not very strictly attribute to your merit ; and in such sentiments we have the satisfaction of being fortified by all persons of impartiality and discernment.

“ But to trespass no longer on those minutes which your excellency may suppose more significantly employed on the sequel ; let it suffice at present to assure you, that we are deeply affected with your favors ; and though unable of ourselves, properly to acknowledge them, we shall embrace every opportunity of recommending you to higher powers, who (we are hopeful) will reward your excellency according to your merits.

May it please your excellency, &c.”

“ *The land-holders in Georgia.*”

This dedication, compared with the pamphlet, was almost gentle in its censures, and but limped at the heels of the authors observations. The general was alternately charged with cowardice, despotism, cruelty and bribery. The pamphlet

is filled with ill-natured invective, without any regard to good manners or common civility. The author was said to be a man of but little property and bad reputation, soured in his temper because he was not humored in an alteration of the constitution, or granted exclusive privileges to the subversion of the objects of the trustees in their plan of settling the new colony, before their experiment could be fully tried. It was stated that he departed from the colony to escape a trial, which was pending against him for seditious and rebellious practices, and that he had been turbulent and restless at an early period ; that he was a man whose daily employment had been for some time, to misrepresent the public measures, to disperse scandal, and excite rebellion ; that he had industriously propagated every murmur of discontent, and preserved every whisper of malevolence from perishing in the birth. His designs seem to have been chiefly directed to the obstruction of population in the colony, until the trustees should be forced by its dwindling into weakness and insignificance, to gratify the peoples eagerness for spirituous liquors and slaves, and by these means to indulge to the extent of their wishes in idleness and dissipation. Oglethorpe may without flattery or falshood, be justly termed the Romulus, father and founder of Georgia : without any views to his own interest, his efforts seem to have been directed to the enlargement of the dominions of his country, the propa-

gation of the protestant religion and providing for the wants and necessities of the indigent: he had voluntarily banished himself from the pleasures of a court, and exposed himself to the dangers of a vast atlantic ocean, in several perilous and tedious voyages. Instead of allowing himself the satisfaction which a plentiful fortune, powerful friends, and great merit entitled him to in England, he had inured himself to hardships and exposures in common with the poor settlers; his food, boiled rice, mouldy bread, salt beef and pork; his bed the damp ground, and his covering the canopy of heaven. When his conduct in war was fairly tested, it corresponded with his integrity in other stations, public and private.

The reverend George Whitefield, who merits particular notice in the history of Georgia, arrived at Savannah in May, 1738. This celebrated field preacher, and founder of the sect of Calvinistic Methodists, was born in 1714, in Gloucester, England. At twelve years of age he was put to a grammar school, and at sixteen he was admitted servitor in Pembroke college, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by the austerities of his devotion. At the age of twenty-one, the fame of his piety recommended him so effectually to Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester, that he ordained him. Immediately after Mr. Whitefield's admission into the ministry, he applied himself with the most extraordinary and indefatigable zeal and industry to the duties of

his character, preaching daily in the prisons, fields and open streets, wherever he thought there would be a likelihood of making religious impressions. Having at length made himself universally known in England, he applied to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, for a grant of a tract of land near Savannah, with the benevolent intention of building an orphan house, which was designed as an asylum for poor children, who were to be clothed and fed by charitable contributions, and educated in the knowledge and practice of christianity. Actuated by the strongest motives for the propagation of religion, this itinerant several times crossed the atlantic ocean to convert the Americans, whom he addressed in such manner as if they had been all equally strangers to the privileges and benefits of religion, with the aborigines of the forest : however, his zeal never led him beyond the maritime parts of America, through which he travelled, spreading the evangelical tenets of his faith amongst the most populous towns and villages. One would have imagined that the heathens would have been the primary objects of his religious compassion ; but this was not the case : wherever he went in America, as in Britain, he had multitudes of followers. When he first visited Charleston, Alexander Garden, a man of great erudition, who was an episcopal clergyman in that place, took occasion to point out to them the pernicious tendency of Whitefield's

wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. He represented him as a religious imposter or quack, who had an excellent knack of setting off, disguising and rendering palatable his poisonous tenets : on the other hand, Mr. Whitefield, who had been accustomed to stand reproach and face opposition, recriminated with double acrimony and greater success : while Alexander Garden, to keep his flock from straying after this strange pastor, expatiated on these words of scripture ; “ those that have turned the world upside down “ are come hither also.” Mr. Whitefield with all the force of comic humor and wit, for which he was so much distinguished ; by way of reply enlarged upon these words ; “ Alexander the “ copper-smith hath done me much evil, the “ Lord reward him according to his works.” The pulpit was perverted into the purposes of spite and malevolence, and their followers catching the infection, spoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected.

Mr. Whitefield commenced the building of his orphan house in Georgia, in 1740, on a sandy bluff, near the sea shore, on a tract of land granted to him for the purpose by the trustees ; the house was built of wood seventy feet by forty. To this house poor children were sent, to be supported partly by charity, and partly by the products of the land cultivated by negroes.

Mr. Whitefield calculated on the healthiness of the place, from its similarity of situation to that

of Frederica : having formed the project, he determined to persevere, and prided himself in surmounting every obstacle and difficulty : he travelled through the British empire, making impressions of the excellence of his design, and obtained from charitable people, money, clothes, and books, to forward his undertaking and supply his poor orphans in Georgia. The house was finished and furnished with an excellent library, but the institution never flourished to the extent of his expectations and wishes, though a great sum of money was expended in bringing it to maturity, owing most probably to the unhealthiness of the situation. The number of children educated at it are not known, but the general opinion is, that it did not produce many ornaments for the pulpit. About thirty years after the house was finished, it was burned ; some say it was occasioned by a foul chimney, and others by a flash of lightning ; but whatever was the cause, it burned with such violence that little of either furniture or library, escaped the devouring flames. Happy was it for the zealous founder of this institution, that he did not survive the ruins of a fabric on which his heart was fixed, and to the completion of which, he had devoted so much time and labor.

The talents of Mr. Whitefield were extraordinary, and beyond any opinion which can be entertained of an itinerant preacher. His influence and weight at that day, certainly made him one

of the most useful men in America. He had many friends and admirers amongst the men of the first influence and respectability, and followers from all classes; he was so popular in preaching, that his churches or places of religious resort, were crowded some time before he appeared, and that to a degree unknown since the apostolic times, or the days of the anabaptists in Germany. It was observed by some of those who attended his service, that when he preached in a church, a line was extended outwards, there being no room to go in; and at the door, pious persons were soliciting for leave "only to see his blessed face," though they could hear him.—Such was the respect, enthusiasm and regard he had inspired, to those devoted to religion, owing to his sincerity, faith, zeal, truly great and extraordinary talents. It is related of the accomplished and celebrated lord Chesterfield, that he observed, "Mr. Whitefield is the greatest orator I have ever heard, and I cannot conceive of a greater." His writings are said to give no idea of his oratorical powers: his person, his delivery, his boldness, his zeal and sincere pursuit in the propagation of the gospel of his Lord and Master, made him a truly wonderful man in the pulpit, whilst his printed sermons give but a skeleton of the equal of many men who have served religion, since the days of the primitive christians. It is not an easy task to delineate his character, without an uncommon mixture, and a vast varie-

ty of colours. He was in the British empire, not unlike one of those strange and erratic meteors which appear now and then in the system of nature. He often lamented that in his youth he was gay and giddy ; so fondly attached to the stage, that he frequently recited difficult pieces while he was at school, with such great applause, that Garrick observed, the stage had lost an ornament. Then he probably acquired those gestures, added to his powers of eloquence, which he practiced under his clerical robes with great success and advantage upon the feelings of his hearers.

After receiving his ordination in the church of England, he refused submission to the regulations either of that or any other particular church, but became a preacher in churches, meeting-houses, halls, fields, in all places and to all denominations, without exception. Though he was not distinguished for his learning, he possessed a lively imagination, much humor, and had acquired a great knowledge of human nature, and the manners of the world. He possessed a great share of humanity and benevolence, but frequently displayed an excessive warmth of temper when roused by opposition and contradiction. His reading was inconsiderable, but he had an extraordinary memory, and mankind being one of the great objects of his study, he could, when he pleased, raise the passions and call forth the tones of the human heart with ad-

mirable skill and fervor. By his affecting eloquence and address, he impressed on the minds of many, especially of the more soft and delicate sex, such a strong sense of sin and guilt, as often plunged them into dejection and despair. As his custom was to frequent those large cities and towns which are commonly best supplied with the means of instruction, it would to some appear, that the love of fame and popular applause was one of his leading passions ; but he always discovered a warm zeal for the honor of God and the happiness of mankind. Whilst he was almost worshipped by the lower order, men of superior rank and erudition, found him the polite gentleman, and the facetious and jocular companion. Though he loved good cheer, and frequented the houses of the rich and hospitable, yet he was an enemy to all manner of excess and intemperance. While his disposition to travel led him from place to place, his natural discernment enabled him to form correct opinions of the characters and manners of men, where ever he went. Though he gave a preference to no particular established church, yet good policy winked at all his eccentricities, as he every where supported the character of a steady friend to civil government. He had a great talent for exciting the curiosity of the multitude, and his roving manner stamped a kind of novelty on his instructions. When exposed to the taunts of the irreligious scoffer, and the ridicule of the flagitious, he remained firm to his

purpose, and could retort those weapons with astonishing ease and dexterity, and render vice abashed under the lash of his satire and wit. To habitual sinners his address was generally applicable and powerful, and with equal ease could alarm the secure and confirm the unsteady.— Though in prayer he commonly addressed the second person of the trinity in a familiar style, and in his sermons was eccentric in his composition, and expatiated on the occurrences of his own life ; yet these seemed only shades to set off to greater advantage the lustre of his good qualities. In short, though he was said to have had many oddities, yet few will undertake to deny that religion in America, was greatly indebted to the zeal, diligence, and oratory of this extraordinary man. After a long course of peregrination, his fortune increased as his fame extended among his followers, and he erected two very extensive buildings for public worship in England, under the name of tabernacles ; one in Tottenham court road, and the other at Moorfields ; where by the help of some assistants, he continued several years, attended by very crowded congregations. By being chaplain to the countess Dowager of Huntingdon, he was also connected with two other religious meetings, one at Bath and the other at Tunbridge, chiefly erected under that virtuous lady's patronage. By a lively, fertile and penetrating genius, by the most unwearied zeal, and by a forcible and persuasive deliv-

cry, he never failed of the desired effect upon his crowded and admiring audiences. In America, which had engaged much of his attention, he was destined to close his eyes. He died at Newbury-Port, thirty miles from Boston, in 1770. When the report of his decease reached the legislature of Georgia, honorable mention was made of him, and a sum of money appropriated with a unanimous voice for bringing his remains to Georgia, to be interred at his orphan house; but the inhabitants at Newbury-Port being much attached to him when living, objected to the removal of his body, and the design was relinquished.

In a letter from Dr. Franklin to Dr. Jones, mentioning Mr. Whitefield, he says "I cannot forbear expressing the pleasure it gives me, to see an account of the respect paid to his memory by your assembly; I knew him intimately upwards of thirty years; his integrity, disinterestedness and indefatigable zeal, in prosecuting every good work, *I have never seen equalled, I shall never see excelled.*" In delineating the character of this amiable man, I have dwelt with enthusiastic delight, because the tenor of his whole life corresponded with the principles he professed.

The orphan house was built under the direction of Mr. James Habersham, who had the intire management of the funds, and appears to have taken a warm interest in the success of Mr.

Whitefield's laudable institution. When the house was put in a condition for the reception of orphan children, Mr. Habersham was appointed president, and was furnished with the necessary teachers, servants, books, and other necessities for the use of the school and the cultivation of the land. In a letter from this gentleman to Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, he says, "surely the Lord intends to bring forth much good out of this establishment: the lands produced a better crop this year, than we had a right to expect, and indeed God seems pleased to smile upon all our efforts by the appearance of their prosperity: our family now consists of eighty-four persons, men, women and children, besides nineteen servants, and five in the infirmary: the latter have a doctor and a nurse to attend them. I have now fifty-eight children under my care, who are orphans and objects of charity; nineteen of them are from Carolina, and the remainder of this province: surely God has many blessings in store for our reverend friend Mr. Whitefield."

In Mr. Habersham's letters, he frequently complains of the exercise of arbitrary power, by the justices who presided over the civil affairs of the province. He says that in many instances, students who promised to be ornaments to society, were withdrawn from school in the midst of an unfinished branch of education, and bound out as servants; that on these occasions he was

never consulted, and that his remonstrances were treated with contempt : that he several times addressed general Oglethorpe upon the same subject, but he refused to restrain the powers exercised by the magistrates. In one of his letters to the general, he says, “ you have laid me under great obligations to your excellency, by requesting an undisguised disclosure of my sentiments respecting the general regulations and arrangements of the province ; I shall give it to you with that candour which becomes an honest man.

“ I wish your excellency’s plans of industry could be put in practice, but I do not think them practicable by the people who now inhabit this colony ; a skilful industrious tenant would easily clear his rent, and provide a comfortable subsistence for himself and family ; but unfortunately, there is too much of the *genteel spirit* prevailing amongst the inhabitants of the province, to hope for a prospect so desirable.” He acknowledges his ignorance of farming, and states generally, the difficulties which will prevail in the cultivation of rice without some negroes, and the assistance of machinery to prepare it for market. He gives a correct view of the poverty of the pine land, laid off for the poor people indiscriminately, and the tenures on which they are allowed to hold their land ; he makes some observations on the weak heads and corrupt hearts of the magistrates, as well as the profligate, licen-

tious conduct of the people generally about Savannah, who he considered as useless in Georgia, as they had been in England ; that two of the magistrates had encouraged a settlement of papists in the neighborhood of the Orphan-house, whose tenets and conduct had become injurious and offensive to the institution ; that after an experiment of nine years, to the loss of many hundreds of poor souls, he thought it was time that the chimerical scheme of settlement by the trustees should be relinquished or altered ; that the general had been surrounded by a parcel of parasites who had only flattered and deceived him. “ I once thought it was unlawful and unjust to keep slaves, but am now inclined to think, God may have a higher end in permitting them to be brought into a christian country, than merely to support their masters. Many of the poor slaves in America have already been made free men of the heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come, when many thousands may embrace the gospel, and thereby be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God.” He mentions many other considerations in justification of a limited use of negroes in a colony, which is incapable of advantageous cultivation without them : he closes this letter by respectfully assuring the general, of the candor of its contents in conformity with his request.

Frederica was settled by general Oglethorpe in February, 1736, on the island of St. Simons,

south of the Alatamaha, and on the west side of that island about the centre. It stands upon a high bluff, compared with the marshes in its front: the shore is washed by a fine river which communicates with the Alatamaha, and enters the ocean through Jekyl sound, at the south end of the island. It forms a bay before the town, and is navigable for vessels of large burthen. The town was defended by a pretty strong fort of tappy, and several eighteen pounders were mounted on a ravelin in front, which commanded the river. The fort was surrounded with regular ramparts, had four bastions of earth, stockaded and turfed, and a palisaded ditch which included the store-houses: two large and spacious buildings of brick and timber, with several pieces of ordnance mounted on the rampart: the town was also surrounded by a rampart, with flankers of the same thickness with that round the fort, in form of a pentagon, and a dry ditch. The whole circumference of the town was about one mile and a half, including the camp for general Oglethorpe's regiment at the north side of the town; the parades on the east, and a small wood to the south, which was left for the conveniency of fuel and pasturage, and served as a blind to the enemy in case of an attack from shipping coming up the river. The town had two gates called the town and water posts; next to the latter was the guard-house, under which was a prison, handsomely built of brick: at the north end the

barracks were built of tappy, and near them the magazine : a road was opened to the southward to the plantations of captain Demere, Mr. Hawkins, and general Oglethorpe : the latter at a little distance resembled a neat little country village ; farther on were several families of Saltzburghers. Bachelors redoubt was on the main, where was kept a look out of rangers ; a corporal's guard was kept at Pike's bluff on the north, and a canal was cut through the general's island, to facilitate the communication with Darien. Frederica was laid out with spacious streets, named after the officers and margined with orange trees. The civil government, as in other parts of the province, was administered by three magistrates or justices, assisted by a recorder, constables and tything-men. At the south point of the island, was a little town called St. Simons ; near it a small battery was built as a watch-tower to discover vessels at sea, and upon such discovery an alarm gun was fired, and a horse-man sent with notice to head-quarters, about nine miles distant. In case an enemy appeared, the number of guns fired, gave notice of the number of vessels. A work was also built on the north end of Jekyl island, where a brewery was established to make beer for the troops : on the north end or high point of Cumberland island, a small battery was erected to protect the inland navigation, as well as St. Andrew's sound ; at the south end was a work of considerable regu-

larity and strength, called fort William, commanding the entrance to St. Mary's. Fort George was built at the mouth of St. Johns river, near Oglethorpe's hill. The garrison was withdrawn in conformity with one of the stipulations in the treaty of September, 1736. A stronger proof cannot be given of general Oglethorpe's indefatigable zeal and industry, than that all these fortifications were erected in seven months.

The settlement on St. Simons island being on the frontier, as well as the one at Darien on the Alatomaha, afforded abundant scope for the exercise of a warlike temper; and having received a severe blow from the garrison at Augustine, the highlanders anxiously waited for an opportunity of revenging the massacre of their beloved friends at fort Moosa; and the time was approaching to give them what they desired. Though the territory granted by the second charter to the proprietors of Carolina extended far to the south of the river Alatomaha, the Spaniards had never relinquished their pretended claim to that part of the province of Georgia. The Spanish ambassador at the British court, had declared that his catholic majesty had as good a claim to the territory in question, as he had to Madrid, and that he would as soon think of surrendering the one as the other, to Great-Britain. The squadron commanded by Admiral Vernon, had for some time occupied so much of their attention in the West-Indies, that none of the Spanish fleet could

be spared to maintain their supposed right : but no sooner had the greatest part of the British fleet left those seas and returned to England, than the Spaniards turned their attention to Georgia, and commenced preparations for dislodging the English settlers in that province. Finding that threats and menaces could not terrify Oglethorpe into compliance with their demands, they determined to try the force of arms. They were aware that the general had made himself unpopular in South-Carolina by the failure of his attack upon St. Augustine, and of the disgust entertained by the settlers of Georgia, against the plan of the trustees government, from which they had formed an antipathy to his person ; and determined to take advantage of such a favorable moment to destroy his little army and settlement. Accordingly an armament was prepared at Havana to be sent against him to expel him by force of arms from their frontiers : with this view, two thousand troops commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked at Havanna, and arrived about the first of May, at St. Augustine : but before this formidable fleet and armament had reached their destination, they were discovered by captain Haymer of the Flamborough man of war, who was cruising on that coast ; and advice was immediately sent to general Oglethorpe of their arrival in Florida.

The general had now a fair opportunity of testing his military talents ; such an army as this,

reinforced by the troops at Augustine, was sufficient to make Georgia tremble : Oglethorpe sent intelligence to governor Glen of South-Carolina, both by land and water, requesting his military assistance with all possible expedition, and at the same time he despatched a sloop to the West-Indies to acquaint admiral Vernon with the expected invasion.

By this time, Carolina had found great advantage from the settlement of Georgia, which had proved an excellent barrier to that province against the incursions of the Spaniards and the Indians, under their control. The southern parts being rendered secure by Oglethorpe's regiment in Georgia, the lands south-west of Port-Royal became in great demand, and had risen to four times their former value : though the Carolinians were equally interested with their neighbors in the defence of Georgia, having little confidence in the general's military abilities, since his unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, the planters were seized with a panic, especially those on the southern parts of the province, deserted their plantations and fled to Charleston with their families and effects : the inhabitants of Charleston, many of whom were prejudiced against Oglethorpe, declared against sending him any assistance, and determined to fortify their town and defend themselves upon their own ground, and left Oglethorpe to stand or fall against a superior force. In such an emergency, policy evidently required

the firmest union and the utmost exertion of the combined force of the colonies. If Oglethorpe had been overpowered and crushed, the reduction of Georgia would have opened to the enemy, an easy access into the bowels of Carolina, and offered both provinces a divided prey to the Spaniards. In the mean time general Oglethorpe was making every possible preparation at Frederica, to give a warm reception to the Spanish Don, at the head of a formidable force. Messages were sent by the general, to his faithful Indian allies, who gathered to his assistance in the hour of danger. Captain McIntosh's company of highlanders, joined him on the first notice from Darien, and evidenced their anxiety of retorting Spanish vengeance upon their own heads. With his regiment, a few rangers, highlanders and Indians, the general fixed his head quarters at Frederica, not allowing himself to doubt of a reinforcement from Carolina and expecting their arrival every hour ; but determined in case of attack before the reinforcement arrived, that the Spaniards should purchase the province at the expense of many of their lives.

On the 21st of June, nine sail of Spanish vessels came into Amelia sound ; but the eighteen pounders from fort William, commanded by ensign Alexander Stuart, and the guard schooner with eighty men, commanded by captain Dunbar, gave them such a warm reception, as to keep them at a respectable distance. When the general was

advised of this attack, he resolved to support the fortifications on Cumberland, and set out with a detachment on board of his boats ; sent captain Horton with his company of grenadiers in front, and was himself obliged to fight his way in two boats, through fourteen sail of Spanish vessels, which endeavored to intercept him in St. Andrews sound. Lieutenant Tolson, who commanded the boat of the greatest strength, instead of following the general, ran into a marsh, where he remained until next morning : when this officer returned to Frederica, he was arrested, tried and found guilty of cowardice. Major Heron from the shore, seeing the general surrounded by the enemy, and obscured by smoke, was alarmed for his fate ; but next day to the great joy of the garrison, he returned in the guard schooner to St. Simons. After having withdrawn the troops from St. Andrews, and reinforced fort William, he ordered his detachments from Jekyl and the main, and sent another express to the governor of Carolina, by Mr. Mulryne, informing him of his situation and urging the necessity of a reinforcement.

On the 28th of June, the Spanish fleet amounting to thirty-six sail, and carrying upwards of five thousand men, including seamen and marines, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off St. Simons' bar, where they remained until the 5th of July, sounding the channel ; and after finding a depth of

water sufficient to admit the ships, came in on the flood tide : they were received with a brisk fire from the batteries and the vessels. One of the Spanish ships of twenty-two guns, and a galley with an eighteen and two nine pounders, attempted to board captain Thompson's ship ; but with the assistance of captain Carr's marines, lieutenant Wali's and ensign Otterbridge's infantry made such a brave defence, that the Spaniards were obliged to retire with considerable loss. A snow of sixteen guns at the same time attempted to board the guard schooner, but was also repulsed by captain Dunbar. This engagement lasted upwards of three hours ; the enemy lost seventeen killed and ten wounded. The fleet anchored about a mile above Oglethorpe's works at the south end of the island, hoisted a red flag at the mizen topmast-head of the largest ship, landed their forces upon the island, and erected a battery, on which twenty eighteen pounders were mounted. Amongst their land forces they had a fine regiment of artillery, under the command of Don Antonio De Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro commanders were clothed in lace, bore the same rank with the white officers, and with equal freedom and familiarity, walked and conversed with the commander in chief. Such an example might have justly alarmed the Carolinians.

When general Oglethorpe found that his battery at St. Simons had become useless, and his

situation hazardous, he spiked up the guns, burst the bombs and grendoes, destroyed his stores, and retired to his head-quarters at Frederica—so great was the force of the enemy, that he plainly perceived that nothing remained for him to achieve with his handful of men; he therefore resolved to use his utmost vigilance, and to act only on the defensive. He kept scouting parties in every direction to watch the motions of the enemy, while his main body were employed in working at the fortifications, making them as strong as circumstances would admit. Day and night he kept his Indian allies ranging through the woods to harass the out posts of the enemy. The general's scouting parties brought in five Spanish prisoners, who informed him of their number and force, and that the governor of Augustine was commander in chief of the expedition. The general still expecting a reinforcement from Carolina, used all his address in planning measures for gaining time and preventing the troops from being discouraged; for this purpose he sent out the highland company also to assist the Indians, and obstruct as much as possible the approach of the enemy, until he should receive assistance from Carolina. His provisions for the garrison were neither good nor plentiful, and his great distance from any settlements, together with the enemy keeping the command of the river, left him without a prospect of getting a supply: he carefully concealed these discouraging circum-

stances from his little army, which did not amount to more than seven hundred men. To animate them with a spirit of perseverance, he exposed himself to the same hardships and fatigues with the common soldiers ; and in the worst of events, could have secured the retreat of a considerable portion of his garrison through Alligator Creek, and his cut through Generals island. In the mean time the Spaniards had made several attempts to pierce through the woods, with a view to attack the fort, but met with such opposition from the deep morasses and dark thickets, defended by the Indians and highlanders, that every effort failed with considerable loss. Don Manuel de Monteano, had no other prospect left, and these difficulties must either be surmounted or the design relinquished : for this purpose parties were kept in motion to explore the thickets, and to take possession of advantageous posts.

On the 7th of July, about nine o'clock in the morning, a ranger from the patrol, brought information to the general, that a body of the enemy had approached within two miles of Frederica. He ordered four platoons of the regiment immediately to follow him, and marched with some rangers, highlanders and Indians, who were then under arms, and attacked the enemy about a mile from the fort, as they were entering a savanna, to take possession of a ditch which they intended to use as an intrenchment. The general attacked them with such vigor, that they were

soon defeated, and one hundred and twenty-nine killed and taken prisoners : the general took two prisoners with his own hand. Lieut. Seroggs, of the rangers, took capt. Sachio prisoner, who commanded the party. Tooanohowi* an Indian chief, was shot in the right arm by captain Magleto ; he drew his pistol with the left and shot the captain dead upon the spot. The general pursued the enemy two miles, and halted upon an advantageous piece of ground, until a reinforcement came up. He posted them with the highlanders, in a wood, with a large savanna in front, over which the Spaniards must pass on their way to Frederica. He hastened to the fort and ordered an additional force to be in readiness, in case of necessity. By the time this arrangement was made, three hundred of the enemy's best troops attacked the party he had left. He hastened to their relief and met three platoons, who in the smoke and drizzling rain, had retreated in disorder, and the fire continuing, he ordered these platoons to rally and follow him, and rushed on with his party to the assistance of the other platoon and the highlanders, who continued the conflict ; when he arrived he found that lieutenants Sutherland and Mackay, had entirely defeated the enemy. In this action Don Antonio de Barba, was mortally wounded, and several of

* Tooanohowi was the nephew of Tomochichi, and with him accompanied General Oglethorpe to England, in 1734.

the enemy were killed and taken. Captain Demere and ensign Gibbon, rallied their platoons, and came up to the ground. Captain Carr and his company of marines, and lieutenant Cadogan, with a party of the regiment, came up at the same time, and were followed by Major Heron, with another body of the regiment. In these two actions the enemy lost two captains, one lieutenant, two sergeants, two drummers and one hundred and sixty private soldiers ; and one captain and nineteen privates, were taken prisoners.

The next morning he returned to Frederica, and as an encouragement and stimulus to bravery, lieutenants Primrose, Maxwell and Mackay, were appointed his aids-de-camp ; lieut. Sutherland brigade major, and sergeant Stuart, ensign. On the 12th, one of the English prisoners escaped from the Spaniards, who reported, that on calling the rolls of the enemy, they had lost two hundred and forty men, and nineteen Indians. The Spanish commander, finding he could make no advantageous impression on the fort in this way, changed his plan of operations, and keeping his troops under cover of his cannon, proceeded with his gallies up the river with the tide, to reconnoitre the fort, and draw the general's attention to another quarter. The general fixed on an advantageous spot, and sent a party of Indians, with orders to lie in ambuscade in the woods and grass, and endeavor to prevent their landing, which succeeded. About the same time, another Eng-

lish prisoner escaped from the Spanish camp, and brought advice to general Oglethorpe, of a difference subsisting in it, between the troops from Cuba, and those from Augustine ; and that in consequence of this misunderstanding, they encamped in separate places. The general thought this afforded him a favorable opportunity of taking an advantage of the enemy, and he resolved to attempt a surprise upon one of the encampments. With the advantage of his knowledge of the woods, he marched out in the night with three hundred regular troops, the highland company, rangers and Indians. Having advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp he halted, and went forward with a small party to take a view of their posture : but while he wished above all other considerations to conceal his approach, a Frenchman from his party, fired his musket, run off to the enemy and gave the alarm : Oglethorpe finding his design defeated by this traitor, thought it prudent to retreat to Frederica. Apprehensive that the deserter would discover his weakness to the enemy, he resorted to the operations of his genius, to devise a plan by which he might destroy the credibility of the deserter's information. For this purpose he wrote a letter, and addressed it to the traitor, in which he desired him to acquaint the Spaniards of the defenceless state of Frederica, and how easy and practicable it would be to cut him and his small garrison to pieces. He requested him to use every

art in urging them forward to an attack, and to assure them of success ; but if he could not prevail with them to make that attempt, to use every influential argument to detain them two or three days longer upon the island, for within that time, according to advice he had received from Carolina, he should receive a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, and six British ships of war, with which he felt assured he would be able to give a good account of the Spanish invaders ; and closed his letter with the strictest cautions against his subjecting himself to suspicion, reminding him of the great reward he was to receive from his king, in the event of success attending the plan ; and urging the necessity of profound silence respecting Admiral Vernon's intentions against Augustine. This letter was given by Oglethorpe, to one of the Spanish prisoners, who for the sake of liberty and a small reward, promised to deliver it to the French deserter, privately, and conceal the circumstance from the knowledge of any other person ; observing that the Frenchman was not a deserter, but a spy upon the Spanish camp. With these injunctions, the Spanish soldier was liberated, and as Oglethorpe wished and expected, the letter was delivered to the Spanish commander in chief. The conjectures and speculations, occasioned by this letter, were various ; and the Spanish commandant was not a little perplexed to know what inference he ought to draw from it:

In the first place, he ordered the supposed spy to be put in irons to prevent his escape, and then called a council of war to consider what was most proper to be done, in consequence of intelligence so puzzling and alarming. Some officers were of opinion, that the letter was intended as a deception to prevent them from attacking Frederica ; others thought that the circumstances mentioned in it, wore such an appearance of truth, that there were good grounds to believe that the English general wished them to take place, and therefore gave their voice for consulting the safety of Augustine, and relinquishing a plan of conquest attended with so many difficulties, and putting to hazard the loss of both army and fleet, and perhaps the whole province of East Florida: While the Spanish officers were employed in these embarrassing deliberations, fortunately three vessels of small force, which the governor of Carolina had sent out to watch the motions of the enemy, appeared at some distance on the coast.— This corresponding with part of Oglethorpe's letter, induced the Spanish commander to give credit to its entire contents. It was therefore determined, to attack Oglethorpe at his strong hold at Frederica, before the expected reinforcement should arrive ; and accordingly the whole Spanish army was put in motion. Captain Noble Jones, with a detachment of regulars and Indians, being out on a scouting party, fell in with a small detachment in the enemy's advance, who were

surprised and made prisoners, not deeming themselves so far in front of the main army. From these prisoners information was received, that the whole Spanish army was advancing : this was immediately communicated by an Indian runner to the general, who detached captain Dunbar with a company of grenadiers, to join the regulars and Indians, with orders to harass the enemy on their advance. These detachments having formed a junction, observed at a distance the Spanish army on the march ; and taking a favorable position near a marsh, formed an ambuscade. The enemy fortunately halted within a hundred paces of this position, stacked their arms, made fires, and were preparing their kettles for cooking, when a horse observed some of the party in ambuscade, and frightened at the uniform of the regulars, began to snort, and gave the alarm. The Spaniards ran to their arms, but were shot down in great numbers by Oglethorpe's detachment, who continued invisible to the enemy ; and after repeated attempts to form, in which some of their principal officers fell, they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their camp equipage on the field, and never halted until they had got under cover of the guns of their battery and ships. General Oglethorpe had detached major Horton with a reinforcement, who arrived only in time to join in the pursuit. So complete was the surprise of the enemy, that many fled without their arms ; others in a rapid

retreat, discharged their muskets over their shoulders at their pursuers ; and many were killed by the loaded arms which were left on the ground : generally the Spaniards fired so much at random that the trees were pruned by the balls from their muskets : their loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was estimated at five hundred. The loss in Oglethorpe's detachment was very inconsiderable. From the signal victory obtained over the enemy, and the great slaughter amongst the Spanish troops, the scene of action just described, has ever since been denominated the *bloody marsh*. On the 14th, the Spaniards burned all the works and houses on the south end of St. Simons and Jekyl Islands. On the 15th, all the large vessels with the Cuba forces on board, sailed to the southward, and the governor and troops from St. Augustine embarked in the small craft, and went by the inland passage, and encamped on the north end of Cumberland, at fort St. Andrews. On the 16th, the general pursued the enemy by the inland passage and landed where they had encamped, and sent an express in the night to ensign Stuart, who commanded at fort William, directing him in case of an attack, to defend it to the last extremity, and that he would reinforce him early the next day. At day-light twenty eight sail of the Spanish line appeared off fort William, fourteen of which came into the harbor, and demanded a surrender of the garrison : Stuart replied that it should not

be surrendered, nor could it be taken : they attacked the works from their gallies and other vessels, and attempted to land, but were repulsed by a small party of rangers who had arrived by a forced march down the island. Stuart with only sixty men, defended the fort with such bravery, that after an assault of three hours, the enemy discovered the approach of Oglethorpe, and put to sea with considerable loss : two gallies were disabled and abandoned, and the governor of Augustine proceeded with his troops by the inland passage : ensign Stuart was rewarded by promotion, for the bravery of his defence.

Thus was the province of Georgia delivered, when brought to the very brink of destruction, by a formidable enemy. Don Manuel de Monteano, had been fifteen days on the small island of St. Simons, without gaining the least advantage over a handful of men ; and in the several skirmishes, had lost a considerable number of his best troops ; while Oglethorpe's loss was very inconsiderable. In this resolute defence of the provinces, Oglethorpe displayed great military skill and personal bravery, and justly merited the encomiums of Carolina as well as Georgia. It is more than probable that the Spaniards had Carolina chiefly in view, and had meditated a conquest where rich plunder could have been obtained, and where by an accession of slaves, they might have increased their force in the same ratio with their progress. The Ca-

rolinians made a poor figure in defence of their country : when union, activity, and military exertions were so requisite, they ingloriously stood aloof, and suffered private pique to prevail over public utility, and seemed determined to risk the safety of their country, rather than that general Oglethorpe, by their assistance, should gain the smallest degree of honor and reputation. They at length sent some ships, but coming so late, they proved useful rather from the fortunate co-operation of an incidental stratagem, than from the zeal and public spirit of the colony. The Georgians, with justice reproached their more powerful neighbors, who, by keeping at a distance in the hour of danger, hazarded the safety of both provinces. Had the enemy pursued their operations with vigor and courage, the province of Georgia must have fallen a prey to the invaders, and Carolina had every thing to dread from such a conquest. Instead of raising or exaggerating this success, to do honor to the general's character, we ought rather to lessen or abridge some of its circumstances, to render it in such an age as that, more credible ; but having attempted no embellishments, the facts are represented step by step, and the reader is left to judge whether he did not gather laurels, which he well deserved to wear.

The province of Carolina justified her conduct, by acknowledgements made to the governor, not only for his zeal and diligence in putting Charles-

ton and the province, in the best posture for defence against the enemy, but also for giving their invaded neighbors in Georgia, all the relief and assistance his circumstances would permit ; and that if the officer who commanded the relief sent to the coast of Georgia, did not think fit to pursue and attack the enemy, with the twelve vessels under his command, the governor of Carolina was not chargeable with that neglect, as he had directed that officer to adopt the most effectual measures for repelling the present invasion of Georgia, and destroying the ships and vessels of the Spaniards ; as well while they continued within the ports, harbors, or districts of that colony, as on the sea-coast thereof, or even in Augustine itself : and that the commodore's conduct, had not been consonant to the governor's orders, was matter of real chagrin. This effort to throw the blame upon the commodore, was a flimsy resort : the enemy was treble his number and force ; yet he was required not only to drive them from the coast of Georgia, but to annoy them in their own port. The narrow and impolitic consideration of its own security, appears to have been the governing principle of Carolina ; nor had the governor been able to overcome the chagrin occasioned by the appointment of Oglethorpe, to the chief command over that province, as well as the one of which he was governor.

When the Spanish troops returned to the Havanna, their commander was arrested and

tried by a court martial, found guilty and dismissed with disgrace, for his improper conduct on an expedition, the result of which proved so shameful and ignominious to the Spanish arms.

After the invasion of Georgia, the Spaniards made an effort to strengthen the frontier of East-Florida, by sending a troop of dragoons to St. Johns river, where they attacked and defeated a party of Indians. Oglethorpe was informed the next day, that a strong party was on their march from Augustine to reinforce them. On the 20th of March, the general embarked in small boats against them, with the highland company and the rangers of his own regiment, and landed in the night at St. Johns, where he was joined by the Indians. They advanced undiscovered in the night, surprised the Spaniards, and killed upwards of forty of them, with the loss of only one Indian: the next morning the general pursued the enemy so closely, that his Indians killed several of their rear guard: he continued the pursuit to Augustine, where he used every effort to draw the Spanish force out to action, but without effect—he posted the grenadiers and some of his troops in ambuscade, advanced himself with a few men and some Indians in sight of the town, intending to skirmish and retire, in order to draw them into action, but to no purpose. The Indians pressed the retreating enemy so close that several were killed under cover of their cannon: having driven the enemy into their strong hold, he returned to Frederica.

The Carolinians were still divided in their opinions, respecting the military character of Oglethorpe : while one party acknowledged his signal services, and poured out the highest encomiums on his courage and military skill, another shamefully censured his conduct and meanly detracted from his merit. No public notice was taken of his services in South-Carolina, except by the inhabitants in and about Port Royal ; from which place a number of them addressed him as follows :—

“ We the inhabitants of the southern parts of Carolina, beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your late wonderful success over your and our inveterate enemies, the Spaniards ; who lately invaded Georgia, in such a numerous and formidable body, to the great terror of his majesty’s subjects in these southern parts. It was very certain that if the Spaniards had succeeded in those attempts against your excellency, they would also have entirely destroyed us ; laid our province waste and desolate, and filled our habitations with blood and slaughter ; so that his majesty must have lost the fine and spacious harbor of Port-Royal, where the largest ships of the British nation may remain in security, on any occasion.

“ We are very sensible of the great protection and safety we have long enjoyed, by your excellency’s being to the southward of us, and keeping your armed sloops cruising on the coast, which has given more security to our trade and property

than all the ships of war ever stationed at Charleston ; but more by your late resolution in frustrating the attempts of the Spaniards when nothing could have saved us from utter ruin, next to the providence of Almighty God, but your excellency's singular exertions, and the bravery of the troops under your command : we think it our duty to pray God to protect your excellency, and send you success in all your undertakings for his majesty's service ; and we assure your excellency, that there is not a man of us, but would most willingly have ventured his all, in support of your excellency, and your gallant troops, had we been assisted and put in a condition to have been of service to you ; and that we always considered our interest to be so united to that of the colony of Georgia, that had your excellency been cut off, we must have fallen of course."

The governors of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina, addressed letters to general Oglethorpe, congratulating him upon the important services rendered to the colonies ; and assuring him of the interest they felt in the honor he had acquired by his indefatigable exertions, constant exposure, extraordinary courage, and unequalled military conduct ; offering their humble thanks to the Supreme Governor of the universe, for placing the fate of the southern colonies under the direction of a general, so well qualified for the important task.

While these governors and a few of the inhabitants about Port-Royal in South Carolina, were thus tendering tributes of respect and gratitude to general Oglethorpe, reports prejudicial to his character were circulating in Charleston, particularly by the writers of some letters which were addressed to the trustees, and pamphlets to the public, which have been noticed heretofore ; in-
somuch that his honor and integrity were called in question : these malicious rumours had reached London and occasioned some of his bills of exchange to be returned to America, protested. Lieutenant Colonel William Cook, who owed his preferment to the general's particular friendship, on pretence of indisposition, had left Georgia before the invasion ; exhibited nineteen charges against him, and named several officers, soldiers and citizens in Georgia, who were to be summoned to prove the general's guilt. As Oglethorpe had stretched his credit, exhausted his strength, and risked his life for the defence of Carolina and its frontier colony, such a recompense must have been equally mortifying as it was unmerited : and as such injurious treatment could not have had its birth amongst the wise and worthy part of the community, it must be ascribed to the envious and malicious, too many of whom are to be found in all communities. Envy cannot brook the blaze of superior virtues ; and malice rejoices in the stains which even falsehood throws on a distinguished character : and under

colour of the freedom of the press, the worst of men may step forth under its shield, and tarnish for a time, the reputation of the best men. Oglethorpe stood high enough to treat these charges with contempt ; but the rude attack of an inferior officer, required such a repulse, that himself might fall into the pit, which his ingratitude had prompted him to dig for another. The general accordingly embarked, and arrived in England in September : a general court-martial was ordered for his trial, to convene at the Horse-guards ; several days were spent in the examination of the various articles of complaint lodged against him, and after the most mature deliberation, the court adjudged the charges to be false, malicious, and groundless ; and his honorable acquittal was reported to the king : in consequence of which, lieutenant-colonel Cook, was dismissed from the service, and declared incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity whatever. By these means the reputation of general Oglethorpe, was cleared of those calumnies with which it had been assailed, and he appeared to the world in his true character. Carolina owed to this benefactor, her friendship and affections : Georgia was indebted to him for her existence and protection : and his generous services to both colonies, deserve to be deeply imprinted on the memory of every inhabitant, and the benefits resulting from them to be gratefully remembered to the latest ages.

A list of the Spanish forces, employed in the invasion of Georgia, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano :

One regiment of dismounted Dragoons, .	400
Havanna Regiment,	500
Havanna Militia,	1,000
Regiment of Artillery,	400
Florida Militia,	400
Batallion of Mulattoes,	300
Black Regiment,	400
Indians,	90
Marines,	600
Seamen,	1,000
Total,	<u>5,090</u>

General OGLETHORPE's command consisted of

His Regiment,	472
Company of Rangers,	30
Highlanders,	50
Armed Militia,	40
Indians,	60
Total, :	<u>652</u>

Ensign Stuart's command at fort William, on the south end of Cumberland island, consisted of sixty men : fort William was about fifty miles south west from Frederica.

In this expedition, Tomochichi the old king, had no share : he died on the 15th of October, 1739, about four miles from Savannah, in the

ninety-seventh year of his age. He appeared to be apprised of his approaching fate, and observed in his last hours, that he had but little concern about dying, as he should in the event of war with Spain, be unable to take an active part in it. He expressed the greatest tenderness for general Oglethorpe, and exhorted the Indians to bear in remembrance the kindness with which he had been received by the king of England, and hoped that they would always be friendly to his subjects. He had requested that his body might be buried amongst the English in Savannah; the corpse was accordingly brought there and interred in Percival square, with military honors, and the general ordered a pyramid to be erected over the grave, with an inscription suitable to his character and standing.

General Oglethorpe did not return to Georgia; but upon all occasions, discovered an uncommon zeal for its prosperity and improvement. From its first settlement, the colony had been under a military government, executed by the general, and such officers as he chose to nominate and appoint. But now the trustees thought proper to establish a kind of civil government, and committed the charge of it to a president, and four councillors or assistants, who were to act agreeably to the instructions they should receive from them; and to be accountable to that corporation for their public conduct. William Stephens was appointed president or chief mag-

istrate ; and Thomas Jones, Henry Parker, John Fallowfield and Samuel Mercer, were appointed members of the council, or assistants : they were instructed to hold four general courts at Savannah every year, for the regulation of public affairs and to determine all differences relating to private property : no public money could be disposed of but by a warrant under the hand and seal of the president and a majority of the assistants in council assembled, who were instructed to exhibit monthly accounts to the trustees of money expended, and of the particular purposes to which it was applied. The militia were organized for the purpose of keeping the men properly disciplined for military service, and Oglethorpe's regiment was left for the defence of the colony, under the command of major Horton. The infant province under the care of general Oglethorpe, had combatted and surmounted many difficulties and disadvantages, yet it promised but a poor recompense to the mother country, for the great sums of money expended for its protection and settlement. The indigent emigrants, especially those from England, having little acquaintance with husbandry and less inclination to labor, made bad farmers ; and as greater privileges were allowed them in the adjoining province, they were easily decoyed to that colony : the Highlanders and Germans being more frugal and industrious, succeeded better ; but hitherto had made but little progress, owing to the wars with

the Spaniards, and to the hardships attending all kinds of culture. The staple commodities intended to be raised in Georgia, though profitable articles, were of the most improper kind for the first settlers of a new country. It appears that the Saltzburghers at Ebenezer as early as the year 1738, had made some small experiments in cotton, which they found to yield abundantly and of an excellent quality. The trustees however seem to have fixed their minds upon wine and silk, and were not disposed to encourage any other cultivation. With all their industry, their farms turned out to little amount; the most successful could little more than subsist their families, and the indolent remained in a starved and miserable condition about Savannah.

Notwithstanding all that Great-Britain had done for the population and improvement of the colony, it still remained in a poor languishing condition. The settlers consisted of two descriptions of people; first, of indigent subjects and foreigners, whom the trustees supported and maintained for many years: secondly, of men of some substance, whom flattering descriptions of the province had deceived and seduced: after the peace with Spain, a considerable part of Oglethorpe's regiment being disbanded, a number of soldiers accepted the encouragement offered them by government, and took up their residence in the colony: all adventurers who had brought property with them, having by this time exhaust-

ed their stock in fruitless experiments, were reduced to indigence ; so that emigrants from Britain, foreigners and disbanded soldiers, were all upon a level, and the prospect before them promised little else than that of living poor, dying beggars, and leaving poverty as an inheritance to their children : nor was the trade of the province more promising than its agriculture. Formerly the inhabitants about Savannah had transmitted to the trustees a representation of their grievances, but had obtained nothing which amounted to relief : but now chagrined with disappointments, and dispirited by the inhospitality of the climate, they viewed the designs of the trustees in no other light, than that of having decoyed them into misery. If they had been favored with credit, and had proved successful, which was far from being the case, as the tenure of their freehold was restricted to male heirs, the oldest son only could reap the benefit of their toil, and the rest left in a state of dependence on his bounty, or be left wholly to the charge of that Being, who feeds the fowls of the air. They considered their younger children equally entitled to paternal regard, and could not brook the idea of their holding lands under such tenure, as excluded them from the rights and privileges of other colonists. They saw numbers daily leaving the province, under the pressure of absolute necessity, and frankly represented to the trustees that nothing could prevent it from being totally

deserted, but the same encouragements as their more fortunate neighbors in Carolina. That the trustees might have a correct view of their situation, they reiterated their complaints, and renewed their supplications for redress : they stated, that the British constitution, abounding with zealous provisions for the rights and liberties of mankind, would not permit subjects, who had voluntarily risked their lives, and spent their substance on the public faith, to effect a settlement in the most dangerous frontiers of the British empire, to be deprived of the common privileges of colonists : they complained that the land-holders in Georgia were prohibited from selling or leasing their possessions ; that a tract containing fifty acres of the best land, was too small an allowance for the maintenance of a family, and much more so, when they were refused a freedom to choose it ; that a much higher quit-rent was exacted from them than was paid for the best lands in other parts of North America ; that the importation of negroes was prohibited, and white people were utterly unequal to the labors requisite to the cultivation of the swamp or low lands ; that the public money granted by parliament for the relief of the settlement and the improvement of the province, was misapplied, and therefore the purposes for which it was granted, were by no means answered. That these inconveniences and hardships, kept them in a state of poverty and misery ; and that the chief

causes of their calamities, were the strict adherence of the trustees to their chimerical and impracticable schemes of settlement; by which the people were refused the obvious means of subsistence, and cut off from every possible prospect of success. The trustees ought to have followed the example of the proprietors of South-Carolina, and enlarged their plan with respect to liberty and property: they could have encouraged emigration by such indulgences, and animated the inhabitants to diligence and perseverance. The plan of settlement ought to have been regulated by the nature of the climate, country, soil, the circumstances of the settlers, the result of experience, and not by wild speculations.

CHAPTER V.

MAJOR Wm. HORTON, of Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment at Frederica, was vested with the command of all the troops in the colony, in case of attack from an enemy. He interfered but little with the civil matters of the province, except when his assistance was required to enforce the measures of the president and council, and on

these occasions acted with calmness and humanity ; by which means he acquired the esteem and friendship of all the better kind of people in the province. Bailiffs or justices of the peace, were appointed in the different parts of the province, but vested with very limited powers.

On the 22d of March, 1744, the bomb magazine was blown up at Frederica. Very little damage was done, though it contained three thousand bombs. Whether fire was communicated by design or accident, is not known ; if the shells had not been well bedded, the damage must have been very considerable. By some it was attributed to an Irishman, who arrived there a few days before, and disappeared immediately after the accident happened.

The affairs of the province passed on without any important occurrences for several years : the repeated complaints of the people were almost exclusively the subjects of colonial discussion. The tracts of land which had been planted with vines and mulberry-trees, scarcely retained the vestiges of cultivation. The trustees made another effort to encourage the manufacture of silk, by offers of bounty ; a filature, or silk house was built, and the necessary articles for preparing the cocoons and winding the silk, were directed to be furnished.

Agriculture had not flourished, and commerce had scarcely been thought of : the firm of Harris and Habersham was established, and commenced

something like a foreign trade, and in the year 1747, imported some foreign articles and established a mercantile correspondence in London and the West-Indies ; and in the next year shipped off several articles, such as deer-skins, lumber, cattle, hogs, poultry, &c. On these articles they made considerable profit for themselves, and greatly encouraged the planters by the purchase of every article they could dispose of, which was saleable abroad.

As agriculture and commerce go hand in hand, petitions were drawn up and presented to the trustees, soliciting their patronage to the latter, by an offer of bounties for the products of Georgia, but the trustees seem to have fixed their hearts exclusively upon *wine* and *silk* ; and these subjects were so much canvassed, that the very sound of those two words became hateful to the people.

Schedules were drawn up by those who possessed mercantile talents, and laid before the trustees, exhibiting the advantages that would result to the mother country as well as to the colonists, by the allowance of bounties to be appropriated in this way, instead of expending such large sums in fruitless efforts, for the encouragement of a staple, which the experience of fourteen years might have convinced them would not be productive ; and that the ruin of the colony must be the result of their plans : but the trustees were inflexible,

Mr James Habersham, who appears to have been a gentleman of considerable mercantile as well as political talents, at the particular request of Mr. Boltzius, stated to him in a letter of considerable length, his ideas on agriculture and commerce. This letter was closed by a request that it might be considered in the light of a confidential communication ; because he had with great freedom, descanted on the views and conduct of many of the leading characters in the province, as well as the chimerical plans of the trustees : Mr. Boltzius solicited his consent to furnish a reverend friend of his in Germany with a copy, and by him the letter was forwarded to the trustees in England. When Mr. Habersham was informed of this circumstance, he supposed that all hopes of future favor and countenance from that honorable body were at an end, and that his residence thereafter in the province, would be made extremely unpleasant to him, if not insupportable, and regretted the latitude with which he had licensed Mr. Boltzius, in giving publicity to the contents of his letter. The strong language and forcible reasonings it contained, attracted the particular notice of the trustees, and became a subject of deliberate discussion ; and instead of bringing the thunder of their vengeance upon him, he was appointed a member of the council in Georgia ; and Samuel Mercer, who had been charged with fraud and mal-practice in office, was suspended from the functions of membership,

by the board in Georgia, and dismissed from office by the trustees. The appointment of Mr. Habersham, was as unexpected to his associates in the administration, as it was to himself. In the November term of this year, three persons were convicted and sentenced to suffer death ; one for murder and two for treason : the former and one of the latter, were executed ; the other, a lad of sixteen years of age, was spared in consideration of his youth, at the solicitation of the inhabitants of Savannah. These were the first who suffered death under the sentence of the civil authority in the province.

Slavery had not yet been formally introduced into Georgia, and may be said to have been licensed, rather than authorised. The term for which the European servants were engaged, had generally expired, and there were no means of remedying this difficulty, except by hiring negro servants from their owners in South-Carolina ; in which case, if any person attempted to enforce the regulation of the trustees, the owner appeared from Carolina and claimed his property. Finding that this plan of evading the law succeeded, negroes were hired for an hundred years, or during life, and a sum equal to the value of the negro was paid in advance ; and the pretended owner bound himself to exhibit his claim, in case circumstances should render it necessary, to secure his services. Finally, purchases were openly made in Savannah from African traders : some seizures were made

by those who opposed the principle, but as a majority of the magistrates were favorable to the introduction of slaves into the province, legal decisions were suspended from time to time, and a strong disposition evidenced by the courts to evade the operation of the law. So great was the majority on that side of the question, that anarchy and confusion were likely to be kindled into civil war. Several negro servants had been purchased for the Orphan-house, and Mr. Habersham declared that the institution could not be supported without them. The servants sent over from England by Mr. Whitefield, after a few months, refused to yield to the menial duties assigned to them ; many ran away, and were supported and secreted in Carolina by their countrymen, until an opportunity offered to escape farther north, where they were secured against a compliance with the conditions of their indentures ; and the few who remained were too old, too young, or too much afflicted with disease, to render services equal to a compensation for their clothing and subsistence. Those who had fled, soon found that they could procure land in the other colonies on easy terms, and engage in employments less degrading and more advantageous. The Highlanders and Germans persisted in their opposition : the Reverend Mr. Boltzius, who had taken a warm interest in the settlement of his country-men at Ebenezer, had been uniform in his opposition to the principles of slavery, to his

congregation, and expressed his fears that idleness and dissipation would grow out of the change, to the destruction of the people's morals ; and it was with great difficulty he could be restrained from a repetition of the expression of his feelings, as he had been accustomed to do in the execution of his clerical functions ; and indeed his eventual yielding, seems to have resulted from the apprehension of a civil war, rather than from any conviction which had changed his opinion, with regard to the justice or propriety of the measure: This gentleman had uniformly been the particular friend of Mr. Whitefield, but on this occasion he addressed a letter to him, charging him with a whimsical change of sentiments, destructive to industry and morality, denouncing the vengeance of heaven against those who were instrumental in bringing a people under the yoke of slavery. Mr. Whitefield denied his having any participation or knowledge, of the change of circumstances which had lately taken place in Georgia, until a short time before this letter was received ; but that he had been taught by the exercise of his reflections, to believe with Pope, that " whatever is, is best : " that God had some wise end in view in the permission of every occurrence, and that though he could not fathom the purposes connected with the slavery of the Africans, yet he had no doubt it would terminate to their advantage. That he had received a number of letters from Georgia upon the subject, which he had

submitted to the trustees, on which he was informed, they were about to decide. When he took into view the wretched, miserable, starved condition of the negroes in their own country, that for the purpose of gaining a scant temporary subsistence, the father had sold his sons, his daughters, nay his wife, to a barbarous cruel foe ; how much better must their condition be, when disposed of in a christian country, where they are treated with mildness and humanity, and required to perform no more than that portion of labor which in some way or other, is the common lot of the human race. After duly considering the subject, the trustees directed the president in Georgia, to convene a certain number of the inhabitants, who should be chosen out of the different districts, and who were considered capable of giving the true sentiments of a majority of the people upon the introduction of slavery, treating largely upon the subject, with such conditions and stipulations as would gratify their wishes ; accordingly the president notified to the different districts the objects contemplated at this meeting, and twenty-three representatives met at Savannah, and after appointing major Horton president, they entered into sundry resolutions, the substance of which was, that the owners of slaves should educate the young and use every possible means of making religious impressions upon the minds of the aged, and that all acts of inhumanity should be punished by the civil authority. It

was thought that under these restrictions, good, instead of evil, would grow out of the measures which the people had been so long anxious to adopt. The proceedings signed by the president and sanctioned by the members, were transmitted to the trustees : this conference was just closed, when major Horton was taken with a malignant fever, which soon closed his valuable life. In a letter from Mr. Habersham to Gen. Oglethorpe, he says, “Major Horton’s unwearied and generous exertions in the service of this colony, have perhaps contributed not a little, to abridge the number of his days. By particular desire he came to Savannah, to meet the president, assistants and other representatives, to consult on an affair of the greatest importance to the colony : his conduct and opinions, gave renewed specimens of his wisdom and prudence. Your excellency knew him well, therefore it would be vain in me to attempt a description of his merits : envy itself is obliged to confess, that he shined in war and in peace, in public and in private stations.”

The mode in which land had hitherto been granted, was by a warrant from the president to the surveyors, Messrs. Jones or Robison, and a plat descriptive of the lot was annexed to the warrant, and recorded by the clerk of the council : the grantees were not satisfied with this informal kind of title, and many of them sent their grants over to England to have them signed by the president of the board of trustees, or some

higher power than had been vested in the executive of Georgia. Application was made to the trustees to grant Hutchinson's island opposite to Savannah, to lady Huntingdon, who agreed to place negroes on it for the cultivation of rice, so as to furnish a substantial and permanent support to the Orphan-house : the proposition was not agreed to, but a tract of five hundred acres was granted in trust to that lady, who stocked it with negroes, and at her decease left a large donation for the use of this institution.

In the same year the remaining troops of general Oglethorpe's regiment, except one company, were disbanded ; such of them as did not choose to leave the colony, accepted of the lands allotted for them agreeably to the promise which had been made by the trustees at the time of enlistment : such as wished to return to England were conveyed to Charleston in boats, and from thence passages were provided for them at the expense of government.

By the return of these boats from Charleston, Captain Daniel Demetree with ten or twelve men came on, and landed at Causton's bluff, in Augustine creek, and mentioned to some of the inhabitants that he was going to Frederica where he was to be stationed : as he had not reported himself to the president and council, they had a variety of conjectures respecting his authority and objects. Captain Jones was desired to wait on him and demand an explanation of his

extraordinary conduct, in neither waiting upon or reporting himself to the president, who considered himself at the head of affairs in Georgia, and literally clothed with all the powers and functions of governor: Mr. Demetree's reply to captain Jones was, that his instructions were derived from his grace the duke of Bedford by the consent of the trustees; that he was to report to, receive from and obey the orders of governor Glen of South-Carolina, and he reluctantly appeared before the council to give any explanation. The president as may be supposed, was mortified at such contemptuous treatment, and addressed the trustees upon the subject, imagining that governor Glen's influence had been improperly exercised over the duke's friendship, and that it was contemplated to reduce the consequence of Georgia, if not to place it entirely under the government of Carolina; and that this small party would be of little use to the province if placed under his own control, and none at all, if placed under governor Glen's: he conjectured that the influence of that gentleman had been used to bring the province into contempt, and to gratify a private pique, in consequence of a misunderstanding which arose from his interference with the Indian trade at Augusta. Some men of bad character had been licenced by the governor of Carolina in this traffic, whom the Indians had charged with committing frauds upon them in trade, in consequence of which the

goods of others had been seized, and their lives endangered by way of retaliation. This subject had produced an unfriendly epistolary correspondence between them which had not been satisfactorily reconciled. President Stephens persevered in his determination, and directed the troops and inhabitants at Frederica to seize the boats which Demetree had in charge on his arrival, as the property of Oglethorpe's regiment, and to take no notice of Demetree, either in a civil or military capacity until further orders ; a copy of this letter and a statement of Demetree's conduct, were sent to governor Glen. Captain Demetree's reception was not such as he was entitled to from his rank in the army, but such as his rude and improper conduct towards the council had justly merited : a few days reflection convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct, and on making satisfactory acknowledgments to the president and council, he was ordered to take the command.

On the 14th of December 1747, a number of Indians happened to be at Frederica, when the reverend Thomas Bosomworth was at that place, and a deep plan was laid by that gentleman, either to destroy the colony, or acquire a fortune equal to any in America. An Indian king by the name of Malatche, of an age and standing in the Creek nation well suited to answer Bosomworth's purposes, was present with sixteen others, who gave themselves the titles of kings and

chiefs of the different towns. Bosomworth suggested to Malatche, the idea of having himself coronated in imperial form, by those of his tribe who were with him : accordingly a paper was drawn up, filled with royal ceremonies, acknowledging Malatche Opiya Mecó, to be the rightful, natural prince and emperor of the dominions of the Creek nation ; vesting him with powers to make laws, frame treaties, declare war, convey lands, and transact all affairs relating to the nation ; binding themselves on the part of their several towns, to abide by and fulfil all his contracts and engagements.*

This paper being signed and sealed by the pretended kings and chiefs, and witnessed in due form, Malatche requested that a copy of it might be sent over to the king of England for his sanction, and to have it put on record among the archives of his great ally. Having thus far accomplished his purposes, Bosomworth drew up a deed of conveyance in the common form, from Malatche Opiya Mecó, emperor of the upper and lower Creek nations, to Thomas and Mary Bosomworth, of the colony of Georgia, for and in consideration of ten pieces of stroud, twelve pieces of duffles, two hundred weight of powder, two hundred weight of lead, twenty guns, twelve pair of pistols and one hundred weight of vermilion ; warranting and defending

* See appendix No. 4.

to the said Thomas and Mary, all those tracts of land, known by the names of Hussoope or Ossabaw, Cowleygee or St. Catharine's, and Sapelo islands, with their appurtenances, &c. to the said Thomas and Mary his wife, their heirs and assigns, as long as the sun shall shine, or the waters run in the rivers, forever. Signed on the 4th day of the windy moon, corresponding with the 14th of December.

It has been mentioned that a number of the settlers had become so much dissatisfied with the tenures on which they held their lands, that they had removed to Carolina: Bosomworth taking advantage of this feeble state of the country, by his avarice and ambition the whole colony was brought to the very brink of destruction. As the concerns of these settlements are closely connected with the affairs of Indian nations, it is impossible to attain proper views of the circumstances and situation of the people, without frequently taking notice of the relation in which they stood to their savage neighbors: a considerable branch of provincial commerce, as well as the safety of the colonists, depended on their friendship with Indians; and to avoid all danger from their savage temper, the exercise of a considerable share of prudence and courage was often requisite. This will appear more obvious from the following occurrence.

It has been observed, that at an early period of the settlement of Georgia, during the time Gen.

Oglethorpe had the direction of public affairs, he had from motives of policy, treated an Indian, or rather half breed woman, called Mary Musgrove, afterwards Mary Mathews, with particular kindness and generosity. Finding that she had great influence amongst the Creeks, and understood their language, he made use of her as an interpreter, in order the more easily to form treaties of alliance with them ; allowing her for her services an hundred pounds sterling a year. Thomas Bosomworth, who was chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, had married this woman, accepted a tract of land from the crown, and settled in the province. He now determined that his wife should assert her claim to the islands of St. Catharine's, Ossabaw and Sapelo, which had been allotted by treaty to the Indians, as part of their hunting lands. To stock them, this reverend gentleman had purchased cattle from the planters of Carolina, from whom he had obtained credit to a considerable amount. The stock not proving so productive as the proud ambitious clergyman expected, he adopted this extraordinary method of attaining to future greatness and acquiring a fortune : he encouraged his wife into the pretence of being the elder sister of Malatche, and of having descended in a maternal line from an Indian king, who held from nature the whole territories of the Creeks ; and Bosomworth now persuaded her to assert her right to them, as superior not only to that of the trustees, but also to

that of the king. Accordingly Mary assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all subjection or allegiance to the king of Great-Britain, otherwise than by way of treaty and alliance, such as one independent sovereign might voluntarily enter into with another : a meeting of all the Creeks was summoned, to whom Mary made a long speech, in which she set forth the justice of her claim, and the great injury she and her beloved subjects had sustained by the loss of their territories, and urged them to a defence of their rights by force of arms. The Indians were fired with rage at the idea of such indignity, and to a man pledged themselves to stand by her to the last drop of their blood in defence of her royal person and their lands ; in consequence of which queen Mary, escorted by a large body of her savage subjects, set out for Savannah, to demand from the president and council, a formal acknowledgment of her rights in the province. A messenger was despatched to notify to the president, the royal family's approach, and that Mary had assumed her right and title of sovereignty over the whole territories of the upper and lower Creeks, and to demand that all the lands south of Savannah river should be relinquished without loss of time : that she was the hereditary and rightful queen of both nations, and could command the whole force of her tribe, and in case of refusal she had determined to extirpate the whole settlement.

President Stephens and his council, alarmed at her high pretensions and bold threats, and sensible of her influence with the Indians, from her having been made a woman of consequence as an interpreter, were not a little embarrassed what steps to take for the public safety : they thought it best to use soft and healing measures until an opportunity might offer, of privately laying hold of her and shipping her off to England. In the meantime the militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march to Savannah, at the shortest notice. The town was put in the best possible state of defence, but its whole force amounted to only one hundred and seventy men, able to bear arms : a message was sent to Mary, while she was yet several miles distant from Savannah at the head of her mighty host, to know whether she was serious in such wild pretensions, and to try the influence of persuasion to induce her to dismiss her followers and drop her audacious design ; but finding her inflexible and resolute, the president resolved to put on a bold countenance, and receive the savages with firmness and resolution. The militia were ordered under arms to overawe them as much as possible, and as the Indians entered the town, captain Noble Jones at the head of a troop of horse stopped them, and demanded whether their visit was with hostile or friendly intentions ; but receiving no satisfactory answer, he ordered them to ground their arms, declaring that he had orders not to

suffer one armed Indian to set foot in the town, and that he was determined to enforce the orders at the risk of his own life and that of his troops. The savages with great reluctance submitted, and accordingly Thomas Bosomworth, in his canonical robes with his queen by his side, followed by the kings and chiefs according to rank, marched into the town on the 20th of July, making a most formidable appearance.—The inhabitants were struck with terror at the sight of this ferocious tribe of savages. When they advanced to the parade, they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them, by whom they were saluted with fifteen cannon, and conducted to the president's house. Bosomworth being ordered to withdraw, the Indian chiefs in a friendly manner, were required to declare their intention in paying this visit in so large a body, without being sent for by any person in authority : the warriors, as they had been instructed, answered that Mary was to speak for them, and that they would abide by whatever she said; that they had heard that she was to be sent like a captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen ; that they intended no harm, and begged that their arms might be restored to them ; and after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife, they would return and amicably settle all public affairs. To please them their guns were accordingly returned, but strict orders were issued to

allow them no ammunition, until the council should see more clearly into their dark designs. On the day following, the Indians having had some private conferences with Mary, were observed with sullen countenances to march in a tumultuous manner through the streets, evidencing a hostile temper apparently determined on mischief : all the men being obliged to mount guard, the women and children were terrified and afraid to remain in the houses by themselves, expecting every moment to be murdered and scalped. During this confusion, a false rumor was circulated, that they had cut off president Stephens's head with a tomahawk, which so exasperated the inhabitants that it was with difficulty the officers could restrain the troops from firing upon the savages : perhaps the exercise of the greatest prudence was never more requisite to save the town from being deluged with blood. Orders were given to lay hold of Bosomworth, to whom it was insinuated that he was marked as the first victim of vengeance in case of extremities ; and he was carried out of the way and closely confined, upon which Mary, his beloved queen, became outrageous and frantic, and threatened the thunder of her vengeance against the magistrates and the whole colony : she ordered all white persons to depart immediately from her territories, and at their peril to refuse ; she cursed Oglethorpe and his fraudulent treaties, and furiously stamping her foot upon the earth, swore

by her Maker, that the whole globe should know that the ground she stood upon was her own. To prevent any ascendancy by bribes over the chiefs and warriors, she kept the leading men constantly under her eye, and would not suffer them to utter a sentence on public affairs, but in her presence.

The president finding that no peaceable agreement could be made with the Indians while under the baleful influence of their pretended queen, privately laid hold of her, and put her with her husband in confinement. This step was found necessary, before any reasonable terms of negotiation would be heard. Having secured the royal family who were unquestionably the promoters of the conspiracy, the president employed men acquainted with the Indian tongue, to entertain the warriors in the most friendly and hospitable manner, and directed that explanations should be made to them, of the wicked designs of Bosomworth and his wife. Accordingly a feast was prepared for all the chiefs and leading warriors; at which they were informed, that Bosomworth had involved himself in debts which he was unable to pay, and that he wanted not only their lands, but a large share of the king's presents, which had been sent over for the chiefs and warriors; and his object was to satisfy his creditors in Carolina at their expense; that the king's presents were only intended for the Indians, as a compensation for their useful services and firm attachment to

him during the war against their common enemy, and that the lands adjoining the town were reserved for them to encamp upon, when they should come to visit their beloved friends in Savannah, and the three maritime islands to fish and hunt upon, when they should come to bathe in the salt waters: that neither Mary nor her husband, had any right to those lands, but that they were the common property of the whole nation: that the great king George, had ordered the president to defend their right to them, and expected that all his subjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren, and that the great king would suffer no one to molest or injure them; and had ordered these words to be left on record, that they might not be forgotten by their descendants, when they were dead and gone.

This policy produced a temporary effect, and many of the chiefs being convinced that Bosomworth had deceived them, declared they would no longer be governed by his advice; even Malatche, the leader of the lower Creeks, and the pretended relation of Mary, seemed satisfied, and was not a little pleased to hear that the king had sent them some valuable presents. Being asked why he acknowledged Mary as the empress of the great nation of Creeks, and resigned his power and possessions to a despicable old woman, while he was universally recognized as the great chief of the nation, and that too at the very time when the president and council were to

give him many rich clothes and medals, for his services; he replied, that the whole nation acknowledged her as their queen, and none could distribute the royal presents but herself, or one of her family, as had been done heretofore. The president by this answer, perceived more clearly the design of Bosomworth's family; and to lessen their influence and consequence, and show the Indians that he had power to divide the royal bounty among the chiefs, determined to take the task upon himself, and immediately dismiss them, on account of the growing expenses of the colony, and the hardships the inhabitants underwent in keeping guard night and day for the defence of the town.

In the mean time Malatche, whom the Indians compared to the wind, because of his fickle and variable temper, having at his own request, obtained access to Bosomworth and his wife, was again seduced and drawn over to support their chimerical claims. While the Indians were gathered together to receive their respective shares of the royal bounty, he stood up in the midst of them with a frowning countenance, and in violent agitation delivered a speech fraught with the most dangerous insinuations and threats; he declared that Mary possessed that country before general Oglethorpe; that all the lands belonged to her as queen and head of the Creeks; that it was by her consent Englishmen were at first permitted to settle on them; that they still held

the land as her tenants at will; that her words were the voice of the whole nation, consisting of three thousand warriors, and at her command every man would raise the hatchet in defence of her rightful claim : then pulling a paper out of his pocket, he delivered it to the president in confirmation of what he had said. This was evidently the production of Bosomworth, and served to discover in the plainest manner, his ambitious views and wicked intrigues: the preamble was filled with the names of Indians, called kings of all the towns in the upper and lower Creeks, none of whom however, were present except two: the substance of the paper corresponded with Malatche's speech; styling Mary the rightful princess of the whole nation, descended in a maternal line from the emperor, and invested with full power and authority from them, to settle and finally determine all public affairs and causes relative to land and other things, with king George and his beloved men on both sides of the sea; and that whatever should be done by her, they would abide by as if done by themselves. Bosomworth probably did not intend that this paper should have been shown, nor was Malatche aware of the consequences of putting it in the hands of the president.

After reading this paper in council, the members were struck with astonishment; and Malatche, perceiving their uneasiness, begged to have it again, declaring he did not know it was a bad

talk, promising he would immediately return it to the person from whom he had received it. To remove all impressions made on the minds of the Indians by Malatche's speech, and convince them of the deceitful and dangerous tendency of this confederacy, into which Bosomworth and his wife had betrayed them, had now become a matter of the highest consequence: happy was it for the province, that this, though difficult, was practicable; as ignorant savages were easily misled on the one side, it was practicable to convince them of their error on the other; accordingly, having gathered the Indians together, the president determining to adopt a bold and decided tone, addressed them with the following speech:—

“ Friends and brothers : When Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia, they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw; he had a license from the governor of South-Carolina to trade with the Indians; she then appeared to be in a poor ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks; but General Oglethorpe finding that she could speak both the English and Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her a woman of the consequence she now appears; the people of Georgia always respected her, until she married Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of Malatche, but the daughter of an Indian woman

of no note, by a white man : General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, for she had none ; but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king ; the Indians at that time having much waste land, which was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them to supply their wants. He told them that the present discontents of the Creeks, had been artfully infused into them by Mary, at the instigation of her husband ; that he demanded a third part of the royal bounty, in order to rob the naked Indians of their right ; that he had quarrelled with the president and council of Georgia, for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and therefore had filled the heads of the Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies, in order to ferment mischief, and induce them to break their alliance with their best friends, who alone were able to supply their wants, and defend them against their enemies." Here the Indians desired him to stop, and put an end to the contest declaring that their eyes were now opened, and they saw through the insidious design of Bosomworth ; but though he desired to break the chain of friendship, they were determined to hold it fast and disappoint him, and begged therefore that all might smoke the pipe of peace ; accordingly pipes and rum were brought, and they joined hand in hand, drank and smoked together in friendship,

every one wishing that their hearts might be united in like manner as their hands. The royal presents, except ammunition, with which it was judged imprudent to trust them, until they were at some distance from town, were brought and distributed amongst them; the most disaffected and influential were purchased with the largest presents; even Malatche himself seemed fully satisfied with his share; and the savages in general perceiving the poverty and insignificancy of Bosomworth and his wife, and their total inability to supply their wants, apparently determined to break off all connection with them.

While the president and council flattered themselves with the idea of an amicable compromise of all the existing difficulties, and were rejoicing in the re-establishment of friendly intercourse with the Creeks; Mary, drunk with liquor, and disappointed in her royal views, rushed in amongst them like a fury, told the president that these were her people, that he had no business with them, and that he soon should be convinced of it to his cost. The president calmly advised her to retire to her lodgings and forbear to poison the minds of the Indians, otherwise he would order her again into close confinement: upon which turning about to Malatche in great rage, she repeated, with some ill-natured comments, what the president had said; Malatche started from his seat, laid hold of his arms, calling upon the rest to follow his example, dared any man to touch

the queen. The whole house was filled in a moment with tumult and uproar; every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but instant death. During this confusion captain Jones, who commanded the guard, very seasonably interposed, and ordered the Indians immediately to surrender their arms: such courage was not the only requisite to overawe them, but at the same time great prudence was necessary, to avoid coming to extremities: with reluctance the Indians submitted, and Mary was conveyed to a private room, where a guard was placed over her, and all further communication with the Indians denied her, during their stay in Savannah. Her husband was sent for in order to reason with him, and convince him of the folly of his chimerical pretensions, and of the dangerous consequences which might result from his persisting in them: but no sooner did he appear before the president and council, than he became outrageously abusive, and in defiance of every argument which was used to persuade him to submission, he remained contumacious, and protested he would stand forth in vindication of his wife's right to the last extremity, and that the province of Georgia, should soon feel the weight of her power and vengeance. Such conduct, justly merited a course which it would have been impolitic in the council to pursue; but finding that fair means were fruitless and ineffectual, they determined to remove him out of the way

of the Indians until they were gone, and then humble him by force. After having secured the two leaders, it only remained to persuade the Indians peaceably to leave the town and return to their settlements: captain Ellick, a young warrior, who had distinguished himself in discovering to his tribe the base intrigues of Bosomworth, being afraid to accompany Malatche and his followers, consulted his safety by setting out amongst the first; the rest followed him in different parties, and the inhabitants, tired out with constant duty, and harassed with frequent alarms, were at length happily relieved.

By this time Adam Bosomworth, brother of Thomas, who was agent for Indian affairs in Carolina, had arrived from that province, and being made acquainted with the extraordinary circumstances which had passed, was filled with shame and indignation: he found his ambitious brother not content with the common allowance of land granted by the crown, aspiring after sovereignty, and attempting to obtain by force, and at the ruin of the colony, one of the largest landed estates in the world. His plot was artfully contrived, and had it been executed with equal courage, fatal must the consequences have been; for had he taken possession of the magazine by surprise, on his first arrival in Savannah, and supplied the Indians with ammunition, the militia must soon have been overpowered, and every family would have fallen a sacrifice, to the indiscriminate ven-

geance of the savages: by the interposition of his brother, all differences were compromised. Thomas Bosomworth at length having returned to rational reflection, apparently repented of his folly, and solicited the pardon of the council and the people: he addressed a letter to the president acquainting him that he was deeply sensible of his duty as a subject, and of the respect he owed to the civil authority, and could no longer justify the conduct of his wife, but hoped that her present remorse and past services to the province, would entirely blot out the remembrance of her unguarded expressions and rash design: he appealed to the letters of general Oglethorpe, for her former irreproachable conduct and steady friendship to the settlement, and hoped her good behaviour for the future, would reinstate her in the public favor, and atone for her past offences: for his own part, he acknowledged her title to be groundless, and promised to relinquish all claim to the lands of the province. The colonists forgave him and promised to forget what had passed; public tranquillity was re-established, queen Mary's idle claims were temporarily relinquished, and the royal family left the city about the first of August.

In the course of this year seven or eight vessels laden with Georgia produce, sailed from Savannah; among this number was a ship of four hundred tons burthen, freighted by Harris and Habersham.

Colonel William Stephens, who had long been a public servant, and for many years president of the council, resigned his appointment on the 21st of July, and retired to his farm in the country: he represented to the trustees, that the infirmities of age, had produced an imbecility of mind, which had rendered him incapable of doing justice to the arduous functions of his office. Henry Parker vice-president, succeeded him, and was accordingly commissioned on the 8th of April, 1751. James Habersham was appointed secretary of the province, and Noble Jones a member of the council: these appointments were accompanied with the pleasing intelligence of a full and ample release from all the restrictions respecting the titles of land, which it was hoped would not fail to produce industry among the people: a colonial assembly was authorised consisting of sixteen members, proportioned to the population of the different parishes or districts: writs of election were issued, and the members were required to convene at Savannah, on the 15th of January, 1751. The assembly met on the day appointed, which was signified to the vice-president and council; they were invited to an audience at the council chamber, when the objects of their meeting were suggested to them, observing the valuable purposes they might effect, if they should act with magnanimity and prudence. Francis Harris was chosen speaker, and the vice-president was requested to form a special court the next day, for

the purpose of having the oaths of allegiance, subpremacy, and abjuration administered to the members: Noble Jones and Pickering Robinson, were appointed a committee by the council, and directed to make a general enquiry into, and report the state of the colony to the assembly. The court met and administered the necessary oaths to this committee, and the members of the assembly: the next day the speaker presented an address to the vice president and council.

“ Assembly Room, 25th January 1751.

Sir—We the deputies of the several districts in general assembly met, desire to return you our sincere thanks for your speech to us, and we assure you we shall endeavor with all concord and unanimity to go through the business appointed for us to do; and we also beg leave to embrace this opportunity of heartily congratulating you on your being appointed vice-president of the province, which we look upon as no more than a just reward for your long and faithful services in it; and we have no doubt but the same steadiness, justice, and candor, which have formerly guided you in the execution of other offices, will direct and govern you in this.

FRANCIS HARRIS, Speaker.

Henry Parker, Esquire, Vice-President of the Colony of Georgia.”

The Vice-President returned the following answer:

“ *Mr. Speaker,*
and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

I heartily thank you for your kind and flattering address, and will always make it my study and endeavor to promote any thing which may tend to the service and advantage of the colony.

HENRY PARKER, Vice-President
 of the Colony of Georgia.”

The following gentlemen constituted the first general assembly in Georgia.

Savannah District—Francis Harris, Speaker; John Milledge, William Francis, William Russell.

Augusta District—George Catogan, David Douglass.

Ebenezer District—Christian Reidlesperger, Theobald Keiffer.

Abercorn & Goshen Districts—William Ewen.

Josephs Town District—Charles Watson.

Vernonborough District—Patrick Houstoun.

Acton District—Peter Morell.

Little Ogeeche District—Joseph Summers.

Skidaway District—John Barnard.

Midway District—Audley Maxwell.

Darien District—John Mackintosh, B.

The assembly laid before the president and assistants, the following articles which they thought

might be redressed by them, to which the answers of the vice-president and council are annexed.

1st.—The want of a proper pilot-boat.

Answ.—Shall be represented to the trustees.

2nd.—The want of leave to erect a building under the Bluff, for the convenience of boats' crews, negroes, &c. The building to be erected by subscription.

Answ.—A place will be laid out.

3rd.—The want of standard weights, scales, and measures.

Answ.—Applied for by the board to the trustees, and may be expected.

4th.—Want of a survey of the river.

Answ.—To be done as soon as a proper person can be found.

5th.—The want of an order to prevent masters of vessels from heaving ballast, &c. into the river.

Answ.—An order to be published.

6th.—The want of a commissioner for regulating pilots and pilotage.

Answ.—A person to be appointed.

7th.—The want of an inspector and sworn packer, to inspect the produce of the colony.

Answ.—To be appointed.

8th.—Want of a clerk of the market.

Answ.—To be appointed.

9th.—The want of regulations for the guard.

Answ.—To be remedied.

10th.—The want of proper officers to command the militia.

Answ —To be appointed.

11th.—The repairs of the court-house:

Answ.—To be immediately done.

The business of the assembly being finished, the house adjourned after a session of twenty-two days. It appears that their powers amounted to little more than those of a grand jury, in making a presentment of grievances to be redressed.

The next day after the assembly had adjourned, Thomas Bosomworth and his wife Mary, arrived from St. Catharine's, and addressed a long letter to the vice-president, renewing the subject of her claim, complaining of the injustice done to her reputation, and endeavoring to justify her late conduct in claiming the country: she expressed a determination, in case she could not obtain from the president and council, what she deemed her just rights, to go over to England, and lay a statement of her claim before the king; and demanded of the president a sum of money to bear her expenses: that if she was culpable, she wished to meet the punishment that her conduct merited; and if innocent, to be reinstated in his majesty's favor. The council deemed it the best policy to take no notice of her representation, by which means the chiefs of the Creek nation would be duly impressed with her insignificance, consequently feel less interested in her concerns and fate. Bosomworth finding that no

notice would be taken of his remonstrance by the vice-president and council, sold his wife's claim to the lands and improvements, lying between Savannah and Pipe-maker's-creek, and her house and lot in town, to raise funds to meet their expenses, in going to England. On his way to Charleston, where he intended to embark, he had his conveyance from the Indians proved before John Mulrine, a justice of the peace, in Greenville county, South Carolina, and recorded by William Pinkney, secretary of state. Prepared to establish his claim, he embarked for England: apprehensive that some serious consequences might yet grow out of this affair, Patrick Graham, esquire, agent of Indian affairs for the trustees, was directed to make particular inquiry of the kings and chiefs of the Creek nation, whether those islands had been, by their knowledge or consent, sold and conveyed to Thomas Bosomworth and Mary his wife; and if not, to purchase them for and on account of the trustees. Graham made particular inquiries, and satisfied himself that the Indians were entirely ignorant of the transaction, and made the purchase as he had been instructed. Adam Bosomworth, the brother of Thomas, went into the nation soon after, and prevailed on the Indians to sign another conveyance to his brother, which was also proved, and sent over to England. The opinion of the best counsel in England was taken upon the case, and the subject was litigated in the courts of Great,

Britain twelve years. An Indian treaty was held at Augusta, in December, 1755, the principal object of which was, the investigation of this subject. In the year 1759, a decision was made at the court of St. James' granting to Bosomworth and his wife, the island of St. Catharine's, and instructions were given to sell the other two islands, and the tract of country adjoining Savannah, at auction, and out of the proceeds of sale to extinguish all the claims of Bosomworth and his wife; first obtaining a general release and acquittance, renouncing all further claim, pretension, or demand whatsoever, and to report procedure, and hold the surplus subject to the order of the crown. In conformity with these instructions, the lands were advertised for sale on the premises, on the 10th of December, 1759: Isaac Levy, entered a protest against the sale, alledging that he had purchased a moiety of the lands in question, from Bosomworth and his wife, and that he had petitioned the king for justice: the sale was suspended, and a new suit instituted in England, by Levy, who died not long after, and I believe the case has never been legally decided. Bosomworth took possession of, and resided on St. Catharine's island, where Mary died some time after, and he married his chambermaid. Finally, the remains of this trio, were deposited in the same grave-yard on this island, for which they had so long contended.

Noble Jones, James Habersham, and Pickering

Robinson, were appointed to examine into and report the state of the colony to the trustees: they were also to renew their efforts, to promote the culture of silk. The trustees were still impressed with a belief, that this article would be exceedingly profitable, and with proper encouragement, might yet be made very beneficial both to the colony, and mother country: the great demand for it in Great Britain, made it an object of the highest importance. The mulberry-tree grew without any other trouble than merely transplanting, and thrived as well as other natural productions: about the beginning of March, the silk worms are hatched from the eggs, nature having provided that they should come into life, at the time mulberry leaves, on which they subsist, begin to open. The feeding and cleaning them, rather requires skill than strength, and young persons were to be employed in gathering leaves: one man skilled in the art could attend a large house full of worms, and in six weeks the whole process is compleated. An article which was considered so profitable, and so easily raised, engrossed almost the entire attention of the trustees, and induced them to offer premiums, by way of encouragement, until the colonists should see their interest in it: two shillings per pound were allowed for the first quality of cocoons, one shilling for the second, and eight-pence for the third. A few persons, well acquainted with the whole process, were brought from Europe, to instruct

the colonists in the management of the worms, and winding of the silk. The filature was furnished with basins, reels, and other machinery, for preparing and winding, and some fine specimens were sent over to England, which were examined by proper judges, and said to be equal to any that had ever been made in Europe. It had escaped the observation of the trustees however, that agriculture and commerce, which go hand in hand in the prosperity of a new country, should always precede manufactures. Eighteen years had now passed off, and the colony had not in any one year furnished a sufficient supply of subsistence for its own consumption, and commerce had barely appeared in the bud: numbers had left the country in disgust, and located themselves in Carolina: the white servants fled from their masters, and took shelter in that colony, where they were aided in secreting and concealing themselves; so that in fact, the country was dwindling into insignificance: the farms which had been cultivated were going to ruin, and in every respect, the country was rapidly degenerating. While in this feeble condition, their western neighbors, the Cherokees, shewed an unfriendly disposition towards them, and in the spring of this year, several outrages had been committed upon Indian traders. During the preceding winter, a number of quaker families had formed a settlement west of Augusta, on a body of land, which had formerly been owned by

a tribe of Indians called the Savannahs, who had been compelled to abandon their towns and settlements, in consequence of a war between them and the Uchee tribe, who claimed the land adjoining them to the southward. When these families first arrived in the country, they had formed a kind of encampment, at a place afterwards called the Quaker-springs, seven miles from Augusta, and were impressed with a belief, from their own pacific temper, that they would have no difficulty in living on terms of friendship with the neighboring Indians : they had cleared some land, and made some progress in agriculture, before the Indians became hostile, but on the first appearance of the hatchet and scalping knife, they were alarmed, and at the sound of the war-whoop, fled and abandoned the country. The fortifications at Augusta had tumbled into ruins, and the people were greatly and very justly alarmed, at the hostile appearances which the state of affairs presented : every man was engaged at this important season of the year in making preparations for the support of his family, and while thus necessarily employed, they were kept in a constant state of alarm.

About the middle of May, an express brought intelligence from Patrick Graham, of Augusta, stating that James Maxwell, with a number of traders had just arrived from the Cherokee nation, from whence they had fled with the greatest precipitation, to save their lives; that two traders had

been murdered, and that they had been robbed of all their goods: that the inhabitants had fled from their plantations, and taken refuge in a church for mutual defence: that the number of women and children, crowded in such close quarters without subsistence, presented a most distressing scene. Detachments of mounted militia had been sent in different directions, but no traces of the enemy, had yet been discovered near Augusta. Another letter was received from James Fraser, which enclosed the copy of Maxwell's affidavit, of the facts relating to the hostile temper of the Indians: on a particular examination of this paper, some of the council were doubtful whether a trick had not been practised by some of the traders, to bring on a war with the Indians, by which means they would be screened from the payment of their debts; or that the whole story was untrue, and had been fabricated to answer their pecuniary purposes, as they were generally men of bad character, and had involved themselves in debts which they were unable to pay: that those idle abandoned spendthrifts, who had lost their credit, and had nothing more to lose, would perhaps, be most secure in the midst of confusion and war: but in either event, it was considered prudent, to put the country in a state of defence. Accordingly the magazine was examined, officers were appointed, and ordered to muster and discipline the militia: a troop of horse was ordered to be raised, composed of such inhab-

itants as were possessed of three hundred acres of land. Noble Jones was appointed colonel, and his son, Noble W. Jones, who had been a cadet in Oglethorpe's regiment, was appointed to command the dragoons. Bourquin and Francis, were appointed captains of the infantry, and an express was sent to captain Mackintosh, at Darien, and to the officers at St. Simon's and Cumberland, warning them of the danger which threatened the province. The governor of South Carolina had also put the frontiers of that province in a state of defence: detachments of twenty-five men, were ordered to strengthen the posts on the frontier, and ammunition was sent to fort Moore, nearly opposite to Augusta, and to other garrisons where it was required. It appeared, eventually, that some of the young warriors of the Cherokee nation, had behaved insultingly to some of the traders, because they were not sufficiently supplied with ammunition; but the chiefs of the nation disapproved of the conduct of these young men, and were disposed to cultivate a peaceable and friendly intercourse: however, on the traders returning to the nation, with only small supplies of ammunition, they were all immediately seized by the Cherokees, who demanded the reasons why they had not been supplied with the quantity which they required; observing that their nation had been threatened with hostility by the Notteweges tribe, who were supported by the French, and that the destruction of their

people would be the consequence of the traders with-holding articles so absolutely necessary for their defence. The traders proposed if liberated to go immediately to Augusta, and bring them a plentiful supply; the Indians consented that two only should be released on condition that they would return in thirty days, but that the others should be detained as hostages for a fulfilment of this stipulation, and that their lives should pay the forfeit. The traders finding no better conditions could be obtained, were compelled to accede to them, and James Beamor and Richard Smith set out for Augusta. On their arrival they made oath to the facts before stated, and their joint-affidavit was sent by an express to the governor of Carolina, whose particular business and interest it was to notice and take care of the Cherokee Indian trade, as the people concerned in it were inhabitants, and under the particular government of that province. Suspicions were still entertained that the Cherokees had been bought over by the French, and that their real design was against Georgia and Carolina.

A circumstance occurred soon after which gave additional weight to these conjectures. Two Eu-
chee Indians came to Savannah and informed president Parker, that some time before, a party of Cherokees and Notteweges, surprised their camp when the men were hunting, and carried off their women and children; that on their return to the camp they pursued their enemies, overtook them

on the third day, killed and wounded several, scalped four, and retook their women and children. They requested a supply of ammunition which was given to them: they offered to show the president the scalps as trophies of their victory, but he declined seeing them, as he wished as much as possible to discountenance barbarity, and avoid every appearance of taking any share or interest in a quarrel between two tribes, who were considered equally in amity with the provinces. The next day he was informed that a body of Indians consisting of Cherokees and Notteweges, about seventy in number, had lately spoken to a white man, forty miles below Augusta, and enquired particularly after the Eucheas, threatening vengeance for their murdered friends. The president advised this party to notify to their tribe the danger with which they were threatened, and if they wanted assistance, to apply to the lower Creeks, who would furnish them with a sufficient number of warriors, to defend them against their enemies. About sun-set the same evening, the report of forty or fifty guns was heard a few miles above Savannah: a party of discovery was despatched under the command of captain N. W. Jones, who returned about two in the morning, and reported that he had found a number of Eucheas dancing round a fire, at Mrs. Bosomworth's Cow-pen plantation, performing the funeral ceremonies at the burial of one of

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their chiefs, in conformity with the custom of their country.

Apprehensive of danger, the utmost vigilance was observed in all parts of the province : every thing that gave intimations of alarm, was magnified in a few hours into the horrors of war. In the midst of these apprehensions, between twelve and one o'clock at night the report of several guns was heard at Yamacraw-bluff, on the edge of the town. The militia were at their posts immediately and prepared for action. The visiting rounds of the guard reported that three men, a woman and a boy, of the Euchee tribe, were encamped on the bluff. Colonel Jones, Mr. Habersham, and a party of discovery went to the place and found a Creek Indian named Ben, shot through the body and stabbed in the breast with a knife ; they met the other men near the camp, who reported that a party of the Cherokee and Nottewege Indians, had attacked them when asleep ; that they had jumped to their guns, and had fired on them, and that they believed only Ben was wounded : he was carried to town and died about day-light. The camp was examined in the morning, and one of the attacking party was traced some distance by the blood which had issued from his wound. Captain Harris with a party of men and two Indians, went in search of him, and in a few hours found him in a thick swamp, and though badly wounded, he made an effort to stab Kenith Bailie with a long French

knife : the two Creeks were very anxious to kill and scalp the wounded prisoner, but the president informed them that it was the peremptory order of his king, never to kill a prisoner, and that the principles of the christian religion enjoined this rule, upon all white people who were believers : the Indians were not satisfied, but the president persisted in his determination. The Indian was attended by a physician and soon recovered : he said that the Cherokees, to which nation he belonged, were not disposed to go to war with the white people, and that their only intention was to take revenge of the Eucheas for the blood of their brethren. Isaac Young reported to the president that an Indian woman, entirely naked, went to his plantation, near the place where the wounded Indian was found, and begged a negro woman for a piece of cloth to cover her ; when the negro informed him of the circumstance, he pursued and overtook the woman, and upon his inquiring her business there, she said she was a Chickesaw and had been taken prisoner by the Cherokees, from whom she had escaped the night before : she enquired whether the Eucheas had got the wounded Cherokee and whether he was living, and expressed great pleasure and gratification when she heard that the wound was not mortal, and that he was under the care of the white people : she said there were four Cherokees and six Notteweges in the party. Young told her that she must go with him to town, to which she pre-

tended to consent, but said she had a child in the swamp which she desired his permission to bring out, and then she would go with him : he accompanied her to the swamp, but she gave him the slip and escaped. Colonel Jones and captain Harris were sent with a party of men in pursuit of the Cherokee and Nottewege party, and desired to have a friendly conference with them ; but they did not overtake them.

The trustees finding that the province did not flourish under their patronage, and tired out with the complaints against the system of government which they had established, with the intention of making the idle and dissipated, industrious and sober ; and persecuted with the murmurs of the people, for whose benefit they had devoted so much time, and spent so much money ; on the 20th of June, 1752, resigned their charter, and the province was formed into a royal government.

In the course of this year, a considerable emigration of inhabitants arrived from Dorchester, in South-Carolina, who settled at Medway : they applied to and obtained from government, a grant for thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty acres of land, lying south of Ogeeche river. These people were characterised by the same independent principles, and the same regard to the institutions of religion, which have distinguished the inhabitants of New England, from whom they were descendants. The reverend Joseph Lord, the min-

ister who accompanied the original emigrants from New England to Carolina, was succeeded by the reverend Hugh Fisher, who died in 1734. Mr. Fisher was succeeded by the reverend John Osgood, who after a pious life and useful ministry, died in 1773: he was minister of that congregation near forty years; and was the father and friend, as well as the shepherd of his flock. On the 2nd of February 1696, the Lord's-supper had, for the first time, been administered in the colony of South-Carolina, to this congregation, by Mr. Lord.

The colony of Georgia remained in an unprotected condition, for a considerable time after the trustees resigned their charter, hoping and despairing alternately as to the form of government under which they were to be placed: the king finally determined on a plan, and on the 1st of October, 1754, appointed John Reynolds, then an officer in the navy, governor of Georgia; and legislative powers similar to those of the other royal governments in America, were authorised.

Though the people were now favored with the same liberties and mode of government enjoyed by their neighbors under the royal care, yet several years elapsed before the value of land was known, or that spirit of industry prevailed, which afterwards diffused its happy influence over the country. The impolitic result of treaties of alliance offensive and defensive with Indian tribes, now began to be unfolded: the flames of war

which had blazed forth between the Cherokees and Creeks, was likely to involve the remnant of Georgia in the common calamity: each of those nations claimed the assistance of the province, as allies under the articles of treaty, in arms and ammunition; and the Creeks urged their claim for the assistance of men. The president and council, previous to the arrival of governor Reynolds, were obliged to plead poverty, alleging to the ambassadors of both nations, the apprehensions they were under of a degree of hostility, against which they were unable to defend themselves. The Chickesaw tribe had passed through the Creek nation, and murdered some of the Cherokees; the latter in return pursued their enemies, and mistaking them for the Creek tribe, revenged the blood of their brethren upon the innocent. Malatche pursued a party of Cherokees, and murdered several of them near the gates of Charleston; and five Indian traders had also been murdered and robbed by the different tribes. Governor Glen of Carolina, sent a special message to Malatche, and requested a conference with him in Charleston; he returned for answer that he was willing to meet him, but as the path had not been open or safe for some time, he could not enter the settlement with his chiefs, without a military escort: upon which the governor sent fifty horsemen, who met him at the confines of his territories, and conveyed Malatche and one hundred of

his head-men to Charleston: a new treaty was framed, accompanied by the usual preliminaries of presents, and the Indians returned home well satisfied.

But few important transactions appear to have been recorded under the government of Mr. Reynolds: the laws which prevailed in the other colonies, governed here. In 1755, the king granted letters patent for establishing courts of record by the name of the General Courts of the Province of Georgia: Noble Jones and Jonathan Bryan, esquires, were appointed justices during the king's pleasure. These courts were competent to the trial of all treasons, felonies, and other criminal offences, committed within the province; they were to be held at Savannah, on the second Thursdays in January, April, July and October, every year: the letters also granted to the justices of this general court, full power to hold any pleas, in any manner of causes, suits and actions, as well criminal as civil, real, personal, and mixed, where the sum demanded should exceed forty shillings sterling, excepting only where the title of any freehold should come in question; and authorised them to bring causes to a final determination and execution, as fully and amply as might be done by the courts of king's-bench, common pleas, and exchequer in England.

The following table will give some idea of the progress of the colony for a few succeeding years.

Exports in 1750	. . .	\$ 8,897	76
ditto 1751	. . .	16,816	40
ditto 1752	. . .	21,494	04
ditto 1753	. . .	28,429	32
ditto 1754	. . .	42,211	08
ditto 1756	. . .	74,485	44

The exports in silk from 1750 to 1754 inclusively, amounted to eight thousand eight hundred and eighty dollars. In the year 1757, one thousand and fifty pounds of raw silk, were received at the filature in Savannah. In 1758, the silk-house was consumed by fire, with a quantity of silk and seven thousand and forty pounds of cocoons or silk balls. In 1759, the colony exported upwards of ten thousand weight of raw silk, which sold two or three shillings per pound higher in London, than that of any other country. The cultivation of rice had begun to produce disease, and the high pine-barren was resorted to for the restoration and preservation of health: some of the people in the country imagined that the residence near the causeways, in consequence of vegetable putrefaction, occasioned bilious fevers and other diseases. Since Mr. Boltzius had become a rice planter, he had buried four children out of five, in seven years, but the health of the negroes had not been much impaired by this species of cultivation.

On the 16th of February, 1757, Henry Ellis, a fellow of the royal society, was appointed to suc-

ceed Reynolds in the government. The rich swamps on the sides of the rivers lay uncultivated, and the planters had not yet found their way into the interior of the country, where the lands not only exceeded those in the maritime parts in fertility for every thing else but rice, but where the climate was more healthy and pleasant. But few of the Georgians had any negroes to assist them in the cultivation of the rice swamps, so that in 1756, the whole exports of the country were only two thousand nine hundred and ninety-six barrels of rice, nine thousand three hundred and ninety-five pounds of indigo, and two hundred and sixty-eight pounds of raw silk, which together with skins, furs, lumber and provisions, amounted only to sixteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-six pounds sterling. Georgia continued to be an asylum for insolvent and embarrassed debtors for Carolina and the other colonies, which, added to the indolence that had previously prevailed, kept the colony sunk in insignificance and contempt.

The extreme heat of the summer in Savannah, as represented by governor Ellis, in a letter which was published, perhaps tended to deter many Europeans from settling so far south in North America. He says, that on the 7th of July, while writing in his piazza which was open at both ends, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 102° in the shade: twice had it risen to that height during the summer, several times to

100°, and for many days together to 98°, and in the night did not sink below 89°: he thought it highly probable that the inhabitants of Savannah breathed a hotter air than any other people upon earth. The town being situated on a sandy eminence, the reflection from the dry sand, when there was little or no agitation in the air, greatly increased the heat: by walking an hundred yards from his house upon the sand, under his umbrella, with the thermometer suspended by a thread as high as his face, the mercury rose to 105°. The same thermometer he had with him in the equatorial parts of Africa and the West India islands, yet by his journals he found it had never risen so high in those places, and that its general station had been between 79° and 86°: he acknowledges, however, that he felt those degrees of heat in a moist air, more oppressive than at Savannah, when the thermometer stood at 81° in his cellar, at 102° in the story above it, and in the upper story of his house at 105°. On the 10th of December, the mercury was up at 86°, and on the eleventh down as low as 58°, on the same instrument. Such sudden and extreme changes, especially when they happen frequently, must violently rack the human constitution; yet he asserts that few people died at Savannah out of the ordinary course, though many were working in the open air, exposed to the sun during this extreme heat. As governor Ellis was a man of sense and erudition, and no doubt made his observations with

accuracy, I shall not presume to call in question the facts which he relates, but I feel bound to assert, under the authority of the oldest inhabitants now living in Savannah, that there have been but few instances in which the mercury has risen above 96° , and none in which it has risen above 100° in the shade, within the last thirty years. The trade winds prevail on the sea coast of Georgia, with great uniformity in the summer, particularly on the southern part of it; and it is not unworthy of remark, that I resided at Point Peter near the mouth of St. Mary's river, eighteen months, and the garrison consisted of near one hundred troops, and that I do not recollect after the first fortnight, to have seen three men in bed with the fever, and that only one died during that period, and his disease was a consumption. Indeed the sea shore is healthy, except in the vicinity of stagnant fresh water, and would be very pleasant if the inhabitants were not annoyed by sand-flies and musketoes; the former are most troublesome in the spring and autumnal months, and in cloudy and damp mornings and evenings: they are unable to endure much heat or cold, and disappear on the approach of either. The musketoes are most troublesome during the heat of summer, particularly at night. I have annexed these remarks, because governor Ellis asserts that the maritime parts of Georgia are the most unhealthy and unpleasant.

In 1758, the lands which had been acquired

from the Indians, and laid off into districts, were formed into eight parishes—Christ Church, St. Matthew's, St. George's, St. Paul's, St. Philip's, St. John's, St. Andrew's, and St. James's. After the rice swamps were opened and cultivated in Medway settlement, in the parish of St. John's, it was soon ascertained that a residence on the sea-shore proved more healthy than on the inland swamps, particularly during the summer and autumnal months. Mark Carr owned a tract of land which was high, sandy and dry, situated on Medway river; this he laid off into a town, dividing it into lots, streets, lanes, and commons: proposals were made to him to make a deed of trust for this tract of land, to which he consented, and accordingly executed a deed on the 19th of June 1758, to James Maxwell, Kenith Baillie, John Elliot, Gray Elliot, and John Stevens, who were appointed trustees. This town is bounded on the east by Medway river and St. Catharine's sound, which communicates with the sea, and on the other side by pine lands, which are generally lower than that on which the town was laid off, and a rising neck of land communicating with the country to the west: the town was called Sunbury, the etymology of which is probably, the *residence of the sun*, from the entire exposure of this place to his beams while he is above the horizon. Soon after its settlement and organization as a town, it rose into considerable commercial importance: emigrants came from differ-

ent quarters to this healthy maritime port, particularly from Bermuda : about seventy came from that island, but unfortunately for them and the reputation of the town, a mortal epidemic broke out, and carried off about fifty of their number the first year : it is highly probable they brought the seeds of the disease with them. Of the remainder, as many as were able, returned to their native country. This circumstance however, did not very much retard the growing state of this eligible spot : a lucrative trade was carried on with various parts of the West Indies, in lumber, rice, indigo, corn, &c. Seven square rigged vessels have been known to enter the port of Sunbury in one day, and about the years 1769 and 1770, it was thought by many, in point of commercial consequence, to rival Savannah. In this prosperous state it continued with very little interruption, until the war commenced between Great-Britain and America, when it was taken by the British troops under the command of general Provost. After the revolutionary war, trade took a different channel, and Savannah became the receptacle for the exports and imports of that portion of the province, which had formerly passed through Sunbury. Farther notice will be taken of this town in its proper place.

CHAPTER VI.

WHEN general Abercrombie succeeded lord Loudon, as commander in chief of the British forces in America, it was contemplated to take possession of the French strong holds on the Ohio, westward of Virginia ; and the Cherokees were invited to join their allies in the capture of fort Duquesne : the French finding a superior force coming against them, burned the houses, destroyed the works, abandoned the place, and fell down the river in small boats to establish other works west of the Cherokee mountains. The flight of the French garrison to the south, prognosticated the visitation of greater evils to Georgia and the Carolinas : the scene of action was only changed to positions more accessible, and the baleful influence of those active and enterprising enemies, soon appeared among the upper tribes of the Cherokees. An unfortunate quarrel between the savages and Virginians, helped to forward the designs of the French, by opening to them an easier access to the towns of those Indians. In the different expeditions against the French, the Cherokees, agreeably to treaty, had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. As the horses in those parts ran wild in the woods, it was customary

both among the Indians and white people on the frontiers, to catch them and appropriate them to their own purposes : while the savages were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses, caught such as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspecting savages, and took several prisoners : the Cherokees were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage from their allies, whose frontiers they had helped to change from a field of blood to peaceful habitations, and when they returned home, told what had happened, to their nation : the flame soon spread through the upper towns, and those who had lost their friends and relations were implacable, breathing indiscriminate fury and vengeance against the white people. In vain did the chiefs interpose their authority ; nothing would restrain the furious spirit of their young men, who were determined to take satisfaction for the loss of their relations : the emissaries of France added fuel to the flame, by telling them that the English intended to kill all their men, and make slaves of their wives and children ; they instigated them to bloodshed, and furnished them with arms and ammunition. The scattered families on the frontiers of Georgia, lay much exposed to the tomahawk and scalping knife of these savages, who commonly make no distinc-

tion of age or sex, but pour an indiscriminate vengeance upon the innocent and guilty. Fort London, on the south bank of Tennessee river, opposite to the place where Tellico block-house was afterwards built, and garrisoned by two hundred men under the command of captains Demere and Stuart, first felt the direful effects of the Cherokee's vengeance. The soldiers as usual making excursions into the woods, to hunt for fresh provisions, were attacked and some of them killed : from this time such dangers threatened the garrison, that every one was confined within the small boundaries of the fort ; all communication with the distant settlement, from which they received supplies being cut off, and the garrison being but poorly provisioned, had no other prospects but those of famine or death. Parties of Indians took the field, rushed down among the settlements, and murdered and scalped a number of people on the frontiers. Fort Prince George had been erected in 1755, on the bank of Savannah river, near a town of the Cherokee's, called Keowee : the commanding officer of this garrison communicated to the governors of South-Carolina and Georgia, the dangers with which they were threatened ; upon which governor Lyttleton ordered out a body of militia, and repaired to the fort, where he formed a treaty with six of the chiefs, on the 26th of December 1759 ; one of the articles required that thirty-two Indian warriors were to be given as hostages to fulfil other condi-

tions ; these were confined in a small hut not more than sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of six soldiers. The small-pox broke out in the governor's camp, his men became dissatisfied and mutinous, and the governor was obliged to return to Charleston. The rejoicings on his return were scarcely ended, when hostilities were recommenced by the Indians, who were dissatisfied with the conditions of the treaty, and denied the powers of the few chiefs who had framed it : fourteen men had been killed within a mile of fort Prince-George : the Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to captain Coytmore who commanded in the fort : the imprisonment of their chiefs had converted their desire for peace into the bitterest rage for war. Oconostota, a chieftain of great influence, had become a most implacable and vindictive enemy : he collected a strong party of Cherokees, surrounded the fort, and compelled the garrison to keep within their works, but finding he could make no impression on them, nor oblige the commander to surrender, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen, confined in it as hostages : as the underwood was well calculated for his purposes, he placed a party of savages in a dark cane-brake by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate to him, and would

he glad to speak to him at the river side : captain Coytmore imprudently consented, and without any suspicion of danger walked to the river, accompanied by lieutenants Bell and Foster : Oconostota appeared on the opposite side, and told him he was going to Charleston to procure the release of the hostages, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safe-guard ; the better to cover his design, he had a bridle in his hand, and added that he would go and hunt for a horse : the captain replied that he should have a guard and wished he might find a horse, as the journey was very long, and performing it on foot would be fatiguing and tedious : upon which the Indian turned quickly round, swung the bridle round his head as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired upon the officers, shot the captain dead upon the spot, and wounded the other two ; in consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons, to prevent any farther danger from them : but while the soldiers were attempting to execute these orders, the Indians stabbed with a knife, the first man who laid hold of them, and wounded two more, upon which the garrison, exasperated to the highest degree, fell upon the unfortunate hostages and butchered them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or relation by this massacre ; and therefore with one voice all declared for war.

The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers that the spirits of their murdered brothers were hovering around them, calling out for vengeance on their enemies. From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted according to their custom, and arrayed with all their instruments of death, shouting the war-whoop and burning with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies: they rushed down among innocent and defenceless families on the frontiers, where men, women and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury: such as fled to the woods and escaped the scalping knife, perished with hunger, and those whom they made prisoners, were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered inexpressible hardships: every day brought fresh accounts of these desolating ravages. In this extremity, an express was sent to general Amherst, the commander in chief in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the southern provinces, and imploring his assistance in the most pressing terms. Accordingly a battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the royal Scots, under the command of colonel Montgomery, were ordered immediately to embark at New York, and sail for the relief of Georgia and Carolina. Application was made to the neighboring provinces of North-Carolina and Virginia for relief, and seven companies of rangers were raised to patrol the fron-

tiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating farther down among the settlements. A considerable sum was voted for presents to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws and Catabaws, as should join and go to war against the Cherokees; provisions were sent to the families that had escaped to Augusta, and fort Moore, and the best possible preparations made for chastising the enemy, as soon as the regulars expected from New York should arrive.

In April, 1760; colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina: great was the joy in the province of Georgia upon the arrival of this gallant officer; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of this year's campaign in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of the southern provinces, and return to head quarters at Albany without loss of time; nothing was therefore omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Soon after his arrival he marched to the Congarees in South-Carolina, where he was joined by the military strength of that province, and immediately put his little army in motion for the Cherokee country. Having but little time allowed him, his march was uncommonly spirited and expeditious: after reaching Twelve Mile river, he encamped on an advantageous ground, and marched with a party of his men in the night, to surprise Estatoe, an Indian town about twenty miles from his camp: the first noise he heard by the way, was the barking of a

dog before his men, where he was informed there was an Indian town called little Keowee, which he ordered his light infantry to surround, and, except women and children, to put every Indian in it to the sword. Having done this piece of service, he proceeded to Estatoe, which he found abandoned by all the savages, excepting a few who had not time to make their escape. The town which consisted of two hundred houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs and poultry, was reduced to ashes. Sugar-town, and every other settlement eastward of the Blue Ridge, afterwards shared the same fate. In these lower towns about sixty Indians were killed, forty made prisoners, and the rest driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. Having finished this business with the loss of only three or four men, he marched to the relief of fort Prince-George, which had been for some time invested by savages, insomuch that no soldier durst venture beyond the bounds of the fort, and where the garrison was in distress, not so much for the want of provisions, as fuel to prepare them.

While the army rested at fort Prince-George, Edmund Atkins, agent of Indian affairs, despatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements, to inform the Cherokees, that by suing for peace they might obtain it, as the former friends and allies of Britain : at the same time they sent a message to fort Loudon, requesting captains Demere and Stuart, the commanding officers at

that place, to use their best endeavors for obtaining peace with the Cherokees in the upper towns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were not yet disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little farther. Dismal was the wilderness into which he entered, and many were the hardships and dangers he had to encounter, from dark thickets, rugged paths and narrow passes; in which a small body of men, properly posted, might harass and tire out the bravest army that ever took the field. Having on every side suspicious grounds, he found occasion for the exercise of constant vigilance and circumspection. On the 27th of June, when he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found there a low valley, covered so thick with brush, that a soldier could scarcely see the length of his body, and in the middle of which, there was a muddy river, with steep clay banks; through this dark place, where it was impossible for any number of men to act together, the army must necessarily march; and therefore captain Morison, who commanded a company of rangers, had orders to advance and scour the thicket: they had scarcely entered it, when a number of savages sprang from their ambuscade, fired on them, killed the captain and wounded several of his party: upon which the light infantry and grenadiers were ordered to advance and charge the enemy, which they did

with great courage and alacrity. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and during some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the number of Indians that guarded this place was considerable, and that they were determined obstinately to dispute it, ordered the royal Scots, who were in the rear, to advance between the savages and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left to support the light infantry and grenadiers: the woods resounded with the war-whoop and horrible yells of the savages; but these, instead of intimidating the troops, seemed rather to inspire them with more firmness and resolution. At length the Indians gave way, and in their retreat falling in with the royal Scots, suffered considerably before they got out of their reach. By this time, the royals being in the front, and the Highlanders in the rear, the enemy keeping up a retreating fire took possession of a hill, apparently disposed to remain at a distance, but continued to retreat as the army advanced: colonel Montgomery perceiving that they kept aloof, gave orders to the line to face about, and march directly for the town of Etchoe. The enemy no sooner observed this movement, than they got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. In this action, which lasted about an hour, colonel Montgomery who made several narrow escapes, had twenty men

killed and seventy-six wounded: what number the enemy lost was not ascertained. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment and skill it was chosen; the most experienced officer could not have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for way-laying and attacking an enemy, according to the method of fighting practised among the Indians. This action, though it terminated in favor of the British army, had reduced it to such a situation as made it very imprudent, if not impracticable, to penetrate farther into those woods; as the repulse of the enemy was far from being decisive, for they had only retired from one advantageous situation to another, in order to renew the attack when the army should again advance. The humanity of the commander would not suffer him to leave so many wounded men exposed to the vengeance of savages, without a strong-hold in which he might lodge them, or some detachment to protect them, and which he now could not spare; should he proceed further, he saw plainly that he must expect frequent skirmishes, which would increase the number; and the burning of so many Indian towns would be a poor compensation for the great risk, and perhaps sacrifice of so many valuable troops. To furnish horses for the men already wounded, he was obliged to throw away many bags of flour into the river, and what remained was no more than sufficient for his army on their return to fort Prince-George. Under

these circumstances therefore, orders were given for a retreat, which was made with great regularity, although the enemy continued hovering around and annoying them to the utmost of their power. A large train of wounded men was brought above sixty miles through a hazardous country in safety, for which no small share of honor and credit was due to the officer who conducted the retreat.

The dangers which threatened the frontiers, induced colonel Montgomery to leave four companies of the royal regiment under the command of major Frederick Hamilton for their protection, while he embarked with the battalion of Highlanders, and sailed for New York. In the mean time, the distant garrison of fort Loudon, consisting of two hundred men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger, or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. Having received information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve them, for a while they seemed satisfied, anxiously waiting for the realization of their hopes. The Virginians however, were equally disqualified with their neighbors of Carolina, from rendering them any assistance. So remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through a barren wilderness, where the passes and thickets were ambuscaded by the enemy, and to carry at the same time sufficient supplies, that the Virginians had given over all

thoughts of the attempt. The provisions in the mean time being entirely exhausted at the fort, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation : for a whole month they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans. Long had the officers animated and encouraged the men with the hopes of relief ; but now being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no resource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of the savages, rather than perish slowly by famine. In this extremity, the commander was obliged to call a council of war, to consider what was proper to be done ; the officers were all of opinion that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpose captain Steuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, and much beloved by all the Indians who remained in the British interest, procured leave to go to Chote, one of the principal towns in that neighborhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were signed by the commanding officer and two chiefs : “ That the garrison of fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry : that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or fort

Prince-George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during the march: that such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to proceed to fort Prince-George: that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for the payment: that the fort's great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

Agreeably to the terms stipulated, the garrison delivered up the fort, on the 7th of August, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Oconostota the prince of Chote, and several other Indians, and that day marched fifteen miles on their way to fort Prince-George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Tali-quo an Indian town, when all their Indian attendants, upon some pretence or other, left them; which the officers considered as an unfavorable omen, and therefore placed a strict guard round their camp. During the night they remained unmolested, but next morning at the dawn of day, a soldier from an out-post came running in, and informed them, that he saw a vast number of Indians, armed and painted in a warlike manner,

creeping among the bushes, and advancing in order to surround the camp: scarcely had the commanding officer time to order his men under arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different directions, accompanied by the most hideous yells, which struck a panic into the soldiers, who were so much enfeebled and dispirited that they were incapable of making any effectual resistance. Captain Paul Demere the commander, and three other officers, with twenty-six men, fell at the first onset; some fled into the woods and were afterwards taken prisoners; captain Steuart, and those who remained, were seized, pinioned, and carried back to fort Loudon. No sooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend captain Steuart, had escaped death, than he hastened to the fort and purchased him from the Indian who took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all that he could command, by way of ransom: he then took possession of captain Demere's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and humanely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until an opportunity should offer of rescuing him from their hands; but the poor soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then ransomed at considerable expense.

During the time these prisoners were confined at fort Loudon, Oconostota formed a design of attacking fort Prince-George, and for this purpose despatched a messenger to the Indian settlements

in the valley, requesting all the warriors to join him at Stickoe-old-town. By accident a discovery was made of ten kegs of powder, and ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy : this discovery had nearly proved fatal to captain Steuart, and would certainly have cost him his life, had not the interpreter had so much presence of mind, as to assure the enemy that this ammunition had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition for the siege, a council was called at Chote, to which captain Steuart was brought, and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life ; and as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two cohorns with them against fort Prince-George, to be managed by men under his command, they told him he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate : they informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners, one after another before his face, and try if he could be so obstinate as to hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames : captain Steuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt : his design he privately communicated to his faithful friend Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the thoughts of being com-

pelled to bear arms against his countrymen : he acknowledged that he had always been a brother to him, and hoped he would now assist him in projecting the means of escape from this perilous situation. The old man took him by the hand, told him he might rely upon his friendship, that he had given him one proof of his esteem, and intended to give him another, so soon as his brother should return and help him to concert the measure : he said he was fully apprized of the evil designs of his countrymen, and the fatal consequences which would be the result ; and should he go and persuade the garrison of fort Prince-George to surrender by capitulation, as fort Loudon had done, what could be expected but that they would share the same treacherous dismal fate.

Strong and uncultivated minds carry friendship, as well as enmity, to an astonishing length. Among the savages, family friendship is a national virtue, and civilized nations may blush, when they consider how far barbarians have often surpassed them in the practice of it. The instance I am going to relate, is as singular and memorable as many that have been recorded in the annals of history.

Attakullakulla claimed captain Steuart as his prisoner, and had resolved at every hazard to save his life, and for this purpose there was no time to be lost : accordingly he signified to his countrymen that he intended to go hunting for

a few days, and carry his prisoner with him to eat venison: at the same time captain Steuart went among his soldiers, and told them that they could never expect to be ransomed by their government, if they gave the smallest assistance to the Indians against fort Prince-George. Having settled all matters, they set out on their journey accompanied by the old warrior's wife, his brother and two soldiers, who were the only persons of the garrison that knew how to convey great guns through the woods. For provisions they depended upon what they might kill by the way: the distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition necessary, to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the sun and moon for Virginia, and traversing many hills, vallies and paths, that had never been travelled before but by savages and wild beasts. On the tenth they arrived at Holston's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of three hundred men, sent out by colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the captain reached colonel Bird's camp, on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend and his party, with presents and provisions, he sent him back to protect the unhappy prisoners until they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees

for the restoration of peace. Captain Steuart's first reflections, after his escape from the savages, were exercised to concert ways and means for the relief and ransom of his garrison: he despatched expresses to Georgia and Carolina, informing them of the sad disaster that had happened to the garrison of fort Loudon, and of the designs of the Indians against fort Prince-George. In consequence of which, orders were given to Major Thompson, who commanded the militia on the frontiers of Georgia and Carolina, to throw in provisions for ten weeks into that fort, and warn the commanding officer of his danger. The settlers near Augusta, secured their families as well as they could in stockade forts. A messenger was sent to Attakullakulla, desiring him to inform the Cherokees, that fort Prince-George was impregnable, having vast quantities of powder buried under ground every where around it, to blow up all enemies that should attempt to come near it. Presents of considerable value were sent to ransom the prisoners at fort Loudon, a few of whom had by this time made their escape: and afterwards, not only those that were confined in the towns and in the vallies, but also all that had survived the hardships of hunger, disease and captivity, in the upper towns, were released and delivered up to the commanding officer at fort Prince-George.

It might be expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would now have been satisfied,

and that they would have been disposed to listen to terms of accommodation : the treacherous conduct to the soldiers at fort Loudon, they intended as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment their hostage friends and relations had met with at fort Prince-George ; and dearly had the provinces of Georgia and South-Carolina paid for the imprisonment and massacre of the chiefs at that place. Still, however, a great majority of the nation spurned at every offer of peace : the lower towns had all been destroyed by colonel Montgomery, the warriors in the middle settlements had lost many friends and relations ; and several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment their ill humor against the southern provinces. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, was among them, and proved an indefatigable instigator to mischief : he furnished them with arms and ammunition, and urged them to war, persuading them that the English had nothing less in view than the extermination of their race from the face of the earth : at a great meeting of the nation, he pulled out his hatchet, and sticking it into a log, called out—" Who is the man that will take this up for the king of France ?" Saloue, a young warrior of Estatoe, laid hold of it and cried out, " I am for war ! the spirits of our brothers who have been slain, still call upon us to revenge their death—he is no better than a woman who refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk, yet dyed with the stains of

innocent blood, and burned with impatience for the field. Finding the provinces still under the most dreadful apprehensions from their savage neighbors, who continued insolent and vindictive, and ready to renew their ravages and murders; application was again made to general Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the commander in chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended. Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having embarked for England, the command of the Highlanders devolved on lieutenant colonel James Grant, who was ordered to relieve the distresses of the southern provinces: on the 1st of January he landed at Charleston, where he quartered for the winter. Georgia was yet but a narrow strip of settlement on the southern frontier of Carolina, consequently barely able to protect herself at home. Carolina determined to exert herself to the utmost, that in conjunction with the regular forces, a severe correction might be given to those troublesome savages: for this purpose a provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to colonel Middleton: presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catabaws engaged to assist them against the Cherokees. The Creeks whose help was also strongly solicited, played an artful game between the English and French, and gave the one or the other encouragement, according to the advantages they reaped

from them. All possible preparations were made for supplying the army with provisions at different stages, and with such means of conveyance as were thought necessary to the expedition; and they flattered themselves that by one resolute exertion, they would tire the savages of war, and oblige them to accept of such terms of peace as were dictated to them. After being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, colonel Grant mustered in all, about two thousand six hundred men. With this force he took up his line of march early in the spring: he had served some years in America, and had been in several engagements with Indians, he was therefore no stranger to their method of making war: he was sensible how ready they were to take all advantages by surprise, stratagem or otherwise, that the nature of the country afforded: caution and vigilance were not only necessary on his part, but to prepare an army for such service, the dress, arms and discipline, should all be adapted to the nature of the country, in order to give the men every advantage. According to the Indian manner of attack, the eye should be habituated to perpetual watchfulness; the body should be so clothed as to be free from encumbrance, and equipped in such light armor as would be most manageable in a thick forest; the feet and legs should be fortified against briars and brushy woods; and those men who had been accustomed to hunting, being quick-sighted, were found

to be of great service in scouring the dark thickets, and as guards to the main body. Europeans, who were strangers to the country and mode of Indian warfare, were not well calculated for military service in America. Many brave officers, ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the country, have fallen a sacrifice to their own rashness, and the numerous snares to which they were exposed by savage cunning.

On the 27th of May, colonel Grant arrived at fort Prince-George, and Attakullakulla, having received information that he was advancing against his nation with a formidable army, hastened to his camp, to signify his earnest desire for peace : he told the colonel that he always had been, and ever would continue to be, a firm friend to the English ; that the outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief ; nevertheless he would gladly interpose in their behalf, in order to bring about an accommodation. He said he had often been ignominiously censured by his countrymen, for his pacific disposition, and that the young warriors of his nation had delighted in war, and despised his counsels, after he had endeavored to get the war-club buried, and the former good correspondence with the provinces re-established. Now he was determined to set out for the nation to persuade them to consult their safety, and speedily agree to terms of peace ; and warmly begged the colonel to proceed no further until he returned.

Colonel Grant replied, that he had always entertained the highest opinion of his honesty and integrity ; that he had always been a friend to the English ; that the observance of his wise policy would have produced the happiest effects, if the obstinacy of his nation had not forbidden them to follow his advice ; that he was but one man and did not speak the sentiments of the nation, which had been led astray by the falshood of French emissaries.

On the 7th of June, colonel Grant marched from fort Prince-George, carrying with him thirty days provision. A party of ninety Indians and thirty woodsmen from the frontiers, painted like Indians, under the command of captain Kenedy, were ordered to march in front and scour the woods. After them the light infantry and fifty rangers followed, consisting in all of about two hundred men ; by whose vigilance and activity the commander imagined that the main-body of the army might be kept secure from surprise. For three days he made forced marches, in order to get over two narrow dangerous defiles in the mountains, which he accomplished without a shot from the enemy, but which might have cost him dear, had they been properly guarded and disputed by the Indians. On the 10th, various circumstances concurred to awaken suspicion in every direction, and orders were given for the first time, to load and prepare for action, and the guards to march slowly forward, doubling their

vigilance. As they frequently spied Indians around them, all were convinced that they should that day have an engagement: at length having advanced near the place where colonel Montgomery was attacked the preceeding year, the Indian allies in the van-guard, about eight in the morning, observed a large body of Cherokees posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, and immediately gave the alarm. The savages rushed down and commenced a heavy fire upon the advanced guard, which being supported, the enemy was soon repulsed, and again formed upon the heights: under this hill the army was obliged to march a considerable distance. On the left was a river, from the opposite bank of which, a large party of Indians fired briskly on the troops as they advanced. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hill and drive the enemy from the heights, while the line faced about and gave their whole charge to the Indians who annoyed them from the side of the river: the engagement became general, and the savages seemed determined obstinately to dispute the lower grounds, while those on the hill were dislodged only to return with redoubled ardor to the charge. The situation of the troops was in several respects unfavorable: fatigued by a tedious march in rainy weather; surrounded with woods, so that they could not discern the enemy; galled by the scattered fire of the savages, who when pressed always kept aloof, but rallied again

and returned to the ground ; no sooner did the army gain an advantage over them on one quarter, than they appeared in force on another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking-place on the river side, the rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made to take the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back to the relief of the rear-guard. From eight o'clock in the morning until eleven, the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire, sometimes from one place and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with the war-whoop, and hideous shouts and yells, to intimidate the troops. At length the Cherokees gave way, and being pursued for some time, scattered shots continued until about two o'clock, when the enemy disappeared. The loss sustained by the enemy in this action, was not accurately ascertained. Colonel Grant's loss was between fifty and sixty killed and wounded : orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river, to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped : to provide horses for those that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river ; after which the army proceeded to Etchoe, a large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes : all the other towns in the middle settlement, fourteen in number, shared the same fate : the corn, cattle and other

stores of the enemy were likewise destroyed, and those miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek shelter and subsistence among the barren mountains.

It would be no easy matter to describe the various hardships which this little army endured in the wilderness from heat, thirst, [watching, danger and fatigue : thirty days colonel Grant continued in the heart of the Cherokee territories, with a handful of troops, compared to the number of warriors in that nation ; and upon his return to fort Prince-George, the feet and legs of many of his men were so mangled, and their strength and spirits so much exhausted, that they were unable to march further without rest : he resolved therefore to encamp, to refresh his men, and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees, in consequence of the chastisement which he had given them. Besides the numerous advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed that some French officers had been among them and given them assistance. When the Indians were driven from their advantageous posts and thickets, they were wholly disconcerted, and though the repulse was far from being decisive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the charge, but remained the tame spectators of their towns in flames, and their country laid desolate.

To represent the situation of the savages, when reduced by this severe correction, would be

difficult : even in time of peace they are destitute of that foresight, which in a great measure provides for future events ; but in time of war, when their villages are destroyed, and their fields plundered, they are reduced to the extreme of want : driven to barren mountains, the hunters being furnished with ammunition, might indeed obtain a scanty subsistence for themselves, but women, children and old men, must suffer greatly, when almost deprived of the means of supporting life.

A few days after colonel Grant's arrival at fort Prince-George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chiefs, came to his camp and expressed a desire for peace. Severely had they suffered for breaking their alliance with the English, and giving ear to the deceitful promises of the French : convinced at last of the weakness and perfidy of the latter, who were neither able to assist them in time of war, or to supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connection with them forever : accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and proposed, which were no less honorable to colonel Grant, than advantageous to the southern provinces. The different articles being read and interpreted, Attakullakulla agreed to them all, excepting one, by which it was demanded, that four Cherokee Indians should be delivered up to colonel Grant at fort Prince-George, to be put to death in the front of his camp, or four green scalps be brought

to him within twelve days. Attakullakulla declared that he had no such authority from his nation, that he thought the stipulation unreasonable and unjust, and that he could not voluntarily grant it. Colonel Grant withdrew this offensive article; after which peace was formally ratified, and their former friendship being renewed, all expressed a hope that it would last as long as the sun should shine and the rivers run.

On the 30th of October 1760, sir James Wright was appointed the successor of Henry Ellis, as governor of Georgia. Soon after his arrival at Savannah, which was early in 1761, he issued writs of election, and assigned to each parish the number of members proportioned to its population, as follows :

CHRIST CHURCH PARISH.

Savannah—Joseph Ottolenghe, Gray Elliott, Lewis Johnson, Joseph Gibbons.

Acton—William Gibbons,

Vernonborough—Edmund Tannatt.

Sea-Islands—Henry Yonge.

Little Ogechee—James Read.

ST. MATTHEW'S PARISH.

Abercorn and Goshen—William Francis.

Ebenezer—William Ewen, N. W. Jones, James de Veaux.

ST. GEORGE'S PARISH.

Hallifax—Alexander Wylly, James Whitefield.

ST. PAUL'S PARISH.

Augusta—Edward Barnard, John Graham,
— Williams, or L. McGillvray.

ST. PHILIP'S PARISH.

Great Ogechee—Elisha Butler, John Maxwell.

ST. JOHN'S PARISH.

Midway and Sunbury—Thomas Carter, Parmenus Way, John Winn.

ST. ANDREW'S PARISH.

Darien—Robert Baillie, John Holmes.

ST. JAMES'S PARISH.

Frederica—Lachlan McIntosh.

After the usual ceremonies, a variety of subjects were submitted by the governor for legislative consideration, judiciously selected for the advantage of the colony. It is to be regretted that little can be said of the progress which was made in agriculture or commerce, under the administration of governor Wright's predecessors. The want of talents in Reynolds, and the want of morality and proper exertion in Ellis, occasioned the colony to be left in a less prosperous state than they had found it: the province had long suffered for want of credit, and the political foresight of governor Wright, was soon evidenced by his judicious arrangements: bills of credit to the amount of seven thousand four hundred and ten pounds sterling were put in circulation, and ways and means applied for keeping up its cre-

dit. The good effects of this policy were soon experienced: thirty-seven vessels were fully freighted in one year, and the rich swamps of Georgia invited laborers to the cultivation of rice. By the peace which was soon after made with Spain, the boundaries were extended to the Mississippi on the west, and on the south to latitude 31° , and the St. Mary's river. East and west Florida were also given up by Spain, and though of themselves but little more than a barren waste, formed an important acquisition to Georgia; it deprived the Spaniards of a strong hold, from which they had sent out armed forces to harass the province, and which was an easy avenue through which it had been often invaded: it removed troublesome neighbors out of their way, who had often excited the savages to hostilities against them, and made Augustine an asylum for fugitive slaves: it opened some convenient ports for trade with Britain and the West Indies, and for annoying the French and Spanish ships coming through the gulf of Florida, in case of any future rupture: it formed a strong frontier for Georgia, and furnished an immense tract of valuable land for reduced officers, soldiers and others, to settle and cultivate. To testify the high sense the king had of the conduct and bravery of his officers and soldiers during the late war, and to encourage the settlement of Georgia, tracts of land were offered to them as rewards for their services. Orders were given to the gov-

ernor, to grant without fee or reward, five thousand acres to each field officer who had served in America; three thousand to every captain; two thousand to every subaltern; two hundred to every non-commissioned officer, and fifty to every private soldier, free of tax for ten years; but subject at the expiration of that term, to the same as the other lands in the province, and to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement. For the encouragement of the settlers, they were allowed civil establishments similar to those of other royal governments on the continent, so soon as their circumstances would admit, and the same provision was made for their lives, liberties and properties, under the new as under the old government.

No province on the continent felt the happy effects of this public security, sooner than Georgia, which had long struggled under many difficulties arising from the want of credit from friends, and the frequent molestations of enemies. During the late war, the government had been given to a man who wanted neither wisdom to discern, nor resolution to pursue, the most effectual means for its improvement: while he proved a father to the people, and governed the province with equity and justice, he discovered at the same time the excellence of its low lands and river swamps, by the proper management and diligent cultivation of which, he acquired in a few years a plentiful fortune. His example and success, gave

vigor to industry, and promoted a spirit of emulation among the planters for improvement: the rich lands were sought for with that zeal, and cleared with that ardor, which the prospect of riches naturally inspired. The British merchants observing the province safe and advancing to a hopeful and promising state, were no longer backward in extending credit to it, but supplied it with negroes, and goods of British manufacture, with equal freedom as other provinces on the continent. The planters no sooner got the strength of Africa to assist them, than they labored with success, and the lands every year yielded greater and greater increase. The trade of the province kept pace with its progress in cultivation; the rich swamps attracted the attention not only of strangers, but even of the planters of Carolina, who had been accustomed to treat their poor neighbors with the utmost contempt, several of whom sold their estates in that colony, and removed with their families and effects to Georgia. Many settlements were made by the Carolinians about Sunbury, and upon the Alatamaha. The price of produce at Savannah increased as the quality improved, a circumstance which contributed much to the prosperity of the country. The planters situated on the opposite side of Savannah river, found in the capital of Georgia, a convenient and excellent market for their staple commodities. In short, from this period the rice, indigo and naval stores, arrived at the markets in

Europe, of equal excellence and perfection, and, in proportion to its strength, in equal quantities with those of its more powerful and opulent neighbors.

CHAPTER VII.

FREQUENT ruptures had occurred among the different nations of Indians, and it had required the exercise of no small share of policy, to steer a course which would free them from the necessity of taking an active part in their wars : the Creeks particularly, held in remembrance the assistance which they had rendered general Oglethorpe in his attack upon Augustine, as well as the services which he had received from them when the Spaniards attacked him on St. Simon's island.

Traders had heretofore taken out licenses from the governors of Carolina and Georgia, for carrying on commerce with the Indians : this plan however, had been found on experiment, to be very objec-

tionable ; the traders were so far removed from the power to which they were amenable, that they committed frauds on the ignorant savages with whom they were licensed to trade, so that scarcely a month passed without some complaints ; it was therefore thought that the office of a superintendent was necessary in the southern as well as the northern district of America. Accordingly this office was given to captain John Stuart, who was in every respect well qualified for the trust ; as Attakullakulla, had given it as his opinion, that the southern provinces would receive no molestation from the Indians, if this officer was appointed to reside among them, and to advise and direct them. After his commission arrived from the king, the southern provinces promised themselves peace and tranquillity with the Indians. Plans of lenity were likewise adopted by the government, with respect to Indian tribes, and every possible precaution was taken to guard against oppression, and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had shewn that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, were not only very expensive, inhuman, bloody, and incompatible with the christian character, but also seldom accompanied with any good effects : such ill treatment generally rendered the savages cruel, suspicious and distrustful, and kept them in preparation for the renewal of hostilities, by keeping alive their ferocious and warlike spirit. Their extirpation, though it might be easily effected

would be as dishonorable and incorrect as it was cruel ; and the prosperity of the provinces, would be retarded by the attempt : whereas by treating them with gentleness and humanity, it was thought they would by degrees lose their savage spirit, and become more harmless and civilized. It was hoped that by establishing a fair and free trade with them, their rude temper would in time be softened, their manners amended, and their wants increased ; and instead of implacable enemies, ever bent on war and mischief, they might be rendered good allies, and beneficial to the trade of the country.

It was thought advisable by the superintendent of Indian affairs, soon after his appointment, to call a general congress of the southern tribes ; and Mobile was fixed on as the most proper and convenient place for the meeting. As captain Steuart was well acquainted with the humors, tempers and characters of these tribes, his speech, in which is exhibited a good specimen of the language and manner proper for addressing barbarous nations, may not be unworthy of the reader's perusal.

“ Friends and brothers—the Supreme Being, who made the world and all its inhabitants, has been pleased to permit many great warriors of the British and Indian nations, to meet together in peace. The great king, who is the father of all white people in Great Britain and America, and defends them from danger, this day stretches out

his arms to receive his red children into favor : he has been pleased to appoint me superintendent of the affairs of all Indian nations to the southward of Virginia : in his name I speak to you ; and as the words you hear are his words, I hope you will listen to them with attention, and allow them to remain deeply impressed on your minds : they are calculated to promote not only your happiness, but that of your children, and children's children forever.

“ When the great kings of Britain and France were at variance, the storms of war raged through this great forest ; the Indian nations were divided, brothers against brothers, and your country was stained with blood ; malice and revenge went forth ; all paths were made crooked ; and your land was covered with darkness. Now that it has pleased the Author of Life, to restore the blessings of light and peace, it is our duty to make a proper use and improvement of them. As fogs gathered in the night, are dispersed by the rising sun, so words dictated by the rage of war, should be forgotten in time of peace. The great king, full of wisdom and magnanimity, knows the frailty of his red children, and forgives their disobedience and rebellion : he extends his love to them all, even to those who lifted up the hatchet against him : to render them secure, he has resolved that the English and French shall be forever separated by the great river Mississippi, and that all nations on this side of it shall have

him for their common father: he commands all the strife and enmity between his white and red children to cease, and expects that the allies of Britain will take those Indians, the former allies of France, by the hand, and live together like brethren of one family. That his white and red children may be near one another, and mutually supply each others wants, he has ordered some of his good subjects to come over the great waters, and live on the fruits of this land, which the Supreme Being made for the use of mankind in general. To open this friendly intercourse, I have invited you all to meet me at this place, and I rejoice that so many brothers are come to accept the royal favor and protection.

“ Ye Chickesaw warriors, I speak to you, and I know your ears are open to my words. The great king regards you as children brought up in their father’s house, who from their infancy have been dutiful and obedient, and by that means merited what you have always enjoyed, his particular care and affection. While darkness surrounded you on every side, he has defended you from all those snares and dangers to which you were exposed; now the day is clear and unclouded, your father continues to love you. The paths from your towns to all nations shall be made straight and plain, and nothing shall be permitted to hurt your feet; your children shall rejoice and grow up in safety, and your houses shall be filled with abundance of corn and veni;

son : I am come to tell you the good news, and to see that justice be done you in all commercial dealings.

“ In the next place I speak to you, ye warriors of the great party of the Choctaw nation. You were like sons separated from their father, and removed at a great distance from his protection ; but by persisting in obedience you were entitled to his love. The great king always acknowledged you, but now he receives you into his family, and offers you all the favors and privileges of his sons. While you continue dutiful and obedient, the eyes of your father shall be upon you, and his hand shall be open to relieve your wants ; under his care you shall enjoy all the blessings of peace and safety ; you shall receive no injuries from friends, nor be exposed to any dangers from enemies ; your arms shall be kept bright, your hunting lands no man shall be permitted to take from you, and there shall be abundance of corn about your villages.

“ But as for you, ye Choctaw warriors of the six villages, you were like children early lost : while you were wandering out of the way, without knowing your brothers you blindly struck them. You found a father indeed, who adopted you, and you have long served him with zeal, and shown many proofs of your courage. You have received from your French father, such poor rewards for your services as he could bestow ; but all the while you remained under his care you

were hungry, naked and miserable. He gave you many fair words and promises, and having long deceived you, at last is obliged to leave you in your present forlorn and wretched condition. Now your true father has found you, and this day stretches forth his arms to receive you under his protection. He has forgotten your offences, he knows your weakness and forgives your errors : he knows your wants and is disposed to relieve them. I have but one tongue, and always speak the truth, and as I bring good news, I hope my words will not be blown away by the wind. The great king is wise, generous and merciful ; and I flatter myself with the hopes that you will never forget your obligations to his goodness.

“ It is my duty to watch over Indians, and protect them against all manner of danger and oppression : for this purpose, my ears shall be always open to your complaints, and it shall be my study to redress your grievances. I must warn you to beware of all quarrels and outrages, by which you would certainly forfeit the royal favor, and plunge yourselves again into misery. I hope you will always observe my advice, and conduct yourselves accordingly, that I may be able to transmit good accounts of your behaviour to England. It is only by the permission of the great king that your wants can be supplied, and that traders can come into your villages with guns, powder, balls, knives, hatchets, flints, hoes,

clothes and other necessaries. These things you cannot make yourselves, and no other nation will be allowed to furnish you with them : therefore the great king has a right to expect your gratitude and obedience ; for all he requires, is with a view to your own tranquillity and happiness.

“ As you are all received into the family of the great king, it is expected that Indians will not only live in friendship and peace with white men, but also with one another : in imitation of his majesty’s good example, you must forget all injuries and offences, and throw aside all national jealousies and antipathies. The king expects that the great chieftains, to whom he has given medals and gorgets, will consider them not merely as ornaments, but as emblems of the high offices they bear, and the great trust reposed in them ; all presents made you are in consideration of the good services expected from you : therefore, ye wise and great leaders, I expect you will use your authority like fathers, and restrain your young men from acts of violence and injustice, and teach them that the only way to merit honor and preferment, is to be just, honest and peaceable ; and that disgrace and punishment will be the consequences of disorderly practices, such as robbing plantations, and beating or abusing white people.

“ Ye warriors who have no commissions, I speak to you also in the name of the king, and I hope you will reverence his authority and love

your brethren. Listen at all times to your wise rulers, and be careful to follow their advice and example ; by their wisdom and justice they have arrived at a high pitch of preferment, and stand distinguished by great and small medals : if, like them you wish to be great, like them you must first be good ; you must respect them, as children do their father, yielding submission to their authority, and obedience to their commands : without the favor of your chiefs, you will neither get your wants supplied, nor reach the station of honor. An armourer will be sent into your nation, to clean and repair your rifles, but he will have instruction to mend arms for none but such as shall be recommended by their chief, it being proper that such leaders should have it in their power to distinguish those that are peaceable and obedient, from the obstinate and perverse.

“ I am to inform you all, that I will send a beloved man into your towns, who will be vested with authority to hear and determine all differences between you and the traders ; to deliver all messages from me to you, and all talks from you to me : and as he will come to promote your welfare and tranquillity, I hope you will receive him kindly, protect him against all insults, and assist him in the execution of his office.

“ When the French governor took his leave of you, he advised you to look upon yourselves as the children of the king of Great Britain ; the

advice was good, I hope you will remember it forever. The great king has warriors numerous as the trees of the forest, and stands in no need of your assistance ; but he desires your friendship and alliance to render you happy : he loves peace and justice, but he will punish all murders and rebellion ; be careful therefore, to keep your feet from the crooked and bloody path ; shun all communication with Indian tribes who lift the hatchet against their white brethren ; their talks, their calumets, their belts of wampum, and their tobacco, are all poisonous ; if you receive them into your towns, be assured you will be infected with their madness, and be in danger of rushing into destruction : be cautious above all things, of permitting great quantities of rum to be brought into your villages ; it poisons your body, enervates your mind, and from respectable warriors, turns you into furious madmen, who treat friends and enemies alike. Mark those persons, whether they be white or red, that bring rum among you, for bad men ; who violate the laws, and have nothing else in view but to cheat, and render you despicable and wretched.

“ Lastly—I inform you that it is the king’s order to all his governors and subjects, to treat Indians with justice and humanity, and to forbear all encroachments on the territories allotted for them. Accordingly, all individuals are prohibited from purchasing any of your lands ; but as you know that your white brethren cannot feed you when

you visit them, unless you give them grounds to plant, it is expected that you will cede lands to the king for that purpose: but whenever you shall be pleased to surrender any of your territories to his majesty, it must be done for the future at a public meeting of your nation, when the governors of the provinces, or the superintendent shall be present, and obtain the consent of all your people. The boundaries of your hunting grounds will be accurately fixed, and no settlement permitted to be made upon them: as you may be assured that all treaties with you will be faithfully kept, so it is expected that you also will be careful strictly to observe them. I have now done, and I hope you will remember the words I have spoken: time will soon discover to you the generosity, justice and goodness of the British nation. By the bounty of the king, and a well ordered trade with his subjects, your houses will be filled with plenty, and your hearts with joy; you will see your men and women well clothed and fed, and your children growing up to honor you, and add strength to your nation; your peace and prosperity shall be established and continue from generation to generation."

The talents and vigilance of the superintendent of Indian affairs, promised a preservation of peace; and the province of Georgia now began to grow into importance. It was thought advisable however, to have a convention of the governors of the four southern provinces, and of the chiefs of all

the nations on the frontiers. Lord Egremont, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the southern department, having been consulted, approved of the plan : accordingly the head men of the Catatawbs, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickesaws and Creeks, were invited to a general treaty, to be held at Augusta ; which was attended by governors James Wright of Georgia, Thomas Boone of South-Carolina, Arthur Dobbs of North-Carolina, lieutenant-governor Francis Fauquier of Virginia, and captain John Steuart superintendent of Indian affairs, in the southern department. This treaty was concluded on the 10th of November 1763 ; and it was agreed that a farther acquisition of territory should be annexed to Georgia ; the boundary to be settled by a line extending up Savannah and Little rivers, to the fork of the latter ; thence to the head spring or source of the Ogechee river, and down the said river to Mount Pleasant ; thence a line to be run direct to Saint-Savilla on the Alatomaha river ; and thence in a direct line to the extremity of tide water on the river St. Mary's. The Cherokee and Creek nations of Indians, being indebted to the English Indian traders in greater sums than they could pay in peltries, and being desirous to discharge their debts, ceded and granted to the king this tract of country upon the frontiers of Georgia ; that the same should be sold, and that the proceeds of the sale should be appropriated to the payment of their debts to

these traders ; and the governor and council were appointed by his Britannic majesty, to sell so much of these lands as might be requisite to settle the respective claims of the traders, and discharge the same out of the produce of such sale, conformably to the design of the Indian grantors. I believe it may be said of Georgia, that there has been no instance in which lands have been forced from the Aborigines by conquest ; and that in all cases, the Indians have expressed their entire satisfaction at the compensations which have been given them for acquisitions of territory.

After this treaty, which was extended to a settlement of all differences between the several Indian nations, as well as the provinces, Georgia remained undisturbed by war for a considerable time. The rapid progress of the colony strikingly appears by a comparison of its exports : in 1763 they consisted of only seven thousand five hundred barrels of rice ; nine thousand six hundred and thirty-three pounds of indigo ; twelve hundred and fifty bushels of corn ; which together with deer skins, beaver fur, naval stores, provisions, timber, &c. amounted to no more than twenty-seven thousand and twenty-one pounds sterling. But in 1773, the province exported staple commodities to the value of one hundred and twenty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-seven pounds sterling ; and the number of negroes was estimated at fourteen thousand.

In 1765, four additional parishes were laid off

between the Alatamaha and St. Mary's rivers ; which were called St. David's, St. Patrick's, St. Thomas's and St. Mary's.

It has been observed that the territory of Georgia was formerly included in a charter granted to South-Carolina : during that period, and previous to the granting of a charter for this province to the trustees, sir William Barker had obtained a grant for twelve thousand acres of land, from the lords proprietors of South-Carolina, near the Alatamaha. When general Oglethorpe's regiment was disbanded, each of the officers and soldiers had a certain portion of land allotted to him, as a reward for his good conduct, and compensation for his faithful services. These warrants were in many instances located within the body of land granted to Barker, whose heirs had not exhibited a claim until the year 1770, when a number of farms had been opened upon the land at a considerable expense. A petition was presented to the king in council in behalf of the possessors, which was referred to the board of trade for their opinion : their report was unfavorable, and the prayer of the petition was not granted. These poor soldiers were obliged to purchase from the heirs of Barker, not only the land, but the value of the labor which they had bestowed in improvements and preparing it for cultivation : others who were unable to purchase, were compelled to relinquish the fruits of their labor to Barker's rich descendants, and settle elsewhere.

The rich lands at the head waters of great Ogechee and Oconee rivers, had drawn many settlers, and some of them had made improvements beyond the limits prescribed by the treaty of 1763. The jealousy of the Indian character, had not yet been well known, so far as related to the ideas they entertained of territorial rights : it had been a maxim among them, that all property found upon their lands, was of right, the property of those who claimed the territory ; this maxim applied to horses and cattle, as well as wild beasts of the forest. The Creek nation complained of these encroachments to governor Wright, and remarked, that if he could not restrain the white people, how could it be expected of them to govern their young warriors. When the Indians had finished their autumnal hunt, about the 1st of October, they stole several horses which they found upon their own land, to carry home their meat, and the goods which they had received in exchange for their peltry : about the same time the store of Lemmons, which had been established at Traders-hill, on St. Mary's river, was attacked by a party of Creek Indians ; Lemmons and his assistants, finding themselves overpowered by numbers, fled and left their store in possession of the savages, who carried off the goods, and burned the houses. A party of white men collected on Ogechee, pursued the Indians to their towns, retook their horses, and remunerated themselves for other losses which they had sustained,

and burned all the houses in their towns. The chiefs came to Savannah and communicated these circumstances to governor Wright, who thought it best to compensate the Indians for the loss of their houses, and the superintendent compelled the Indians to restore Lemmons his goods : by these placid measures, the consequences which might have been expected, were removed, and peace was restored.

Alexander Cameron, a Scotchman, had been appointed deputy-superintendent in the Cherokee nation. This tribe had also shewn some discontents arising from encroachments on land claimed by them as hunting grounds, to the north-west of Little river, afterwards Wilkes county ; and similar complaints were made against encroachments in Carolina, upon a creek called Long-Cane.—Steuart directed Cameron to make a visit to the governor in Charleston, and to invite some of the chiefs to accompany him : this visit drew some presents from the governor, and had the desired effect.

On the 27th of October, at the annual meeting of the general assembly of Georgia, governor Wright communicated to the upper house, the instructions of his majesty, requiring implicit obedience to the *mutiny act* ; and desired that those provisions should be made for supplying the king's troops, which by that act they were directed to do. James Habersham, president of the upper house, signified the determination

of that branch of the assembly, to comply with the law. A similar communication was made to the lower house, of which Alexander Wylly was speaker : that branch of the assembly resolved to provide a sum not exceeding two hundred pounds sterling, for supplying his majesty's troops doing duty in this province, with the following articles ; to wit, firewood, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, cooking utensils, and small-beer or cyder, not exceeding five pints, or half a pint of rum, or in lieu thereof three-pence sterling *per diem*, to each man respectively : and also to defray the expense of providing necessary carriages for the said troops on their march through any part of the province, and for the hire of barns and out-houses for their lodgement, in such places where there were no barracks. This law was to commence its operation on the first day of November thereafter, and to continue in force for one year, and to be raised and granted in the next general tax bill. The governor thanked the assembly for the promptitude with which his communication had been complied with. These measures were adopted under the pressure of necessity rather than free will : the colonies being tenacious of their liberties, and jealous of their rights, the rulers of the mother country, found it necessary to be cautious in exercising their power. The government was not only mixed but dependent, which circumstance occasioned a peculiarity in its form of a very delicate

nature. When oppressions and dissatisfactions were permitted to accumulate, and the governed allowed occasionally to throw off a part of the load, it was to be expected that they would soon do more : the rights of the people therefore required immediate consideration and redress. The petitions which had been presented to the king, were not attended to by the minister, and it was recommended to the colonies, to appoint agents to superintend their demands for redress. Accordingly, at the meeting of the general assembly at Savannah in April, a resolution to that effect was entered into, and doctor Benjamin Franklin was appointed agent for the colony of Georgia, at the court of Great Britain : in his acceptance of this appointment, he warmly recommends a peaceable, prudent, firm and animated conduct in the management of public affairs ; by which means they would support the character of freemen without losing that of faithful subjects ; and would prove that the Americans possessed that true magnanimity which could resent injuries without becoming outrageous, and that they knew what was due to themselves and their posterity, as well as to the mother country : and thus they might advance their interest and reputation, and convince the world of the justice of their demands and the purity of their intentions. These measures all mankind would applaud, and confess that those deserved liberty, who so well understood its value, so pas-

sionately loved it, and who so temperately, wisely and virtuously asserted, maintained and defended it. With these correct impressions, doctor Franklin embarked for England.

When the offensive stamp act of the 22nd of March 1765, received the royal assent in England, it produced a tumult in every province in America, and nothing but the repeal of it could heal the wound which was anticipated from its operation. This was succeeded by the revival of another act, equally offensive, for quartering his majesty's forces on the inhabitants, and supplying them in their quarters, and furnishing carriages on marches and other necessary occasions, and that when ever any troops should march through, or be stationed in any place in North America, no expense was to be brought upon the crown. These, with other mortifying and offensive grievances, were in many instances imposed upon the provinces, without their approbation or consent. But such was the disposition of Great Britain, that while we were supplicating relief from one act of oppression, two or three others were substituted in its stead.

A letter was received from the speaker of the assembly of Massachusetts, desiring a union of the provinces in opposition to the oppressive acts of Great Britain ; to which the following answer was written :—

“ Province of Georgia, 16 June, 1768.

Sir—Your respected favor of the 11th of February, came to hand only a few days since. I am sorry it is not in my power to give you so full and satisfactory an answer thereto as the importance of the subject requires. The members of the present assembly of this province, have but lately been elected; and though the writs were returnable and the house required to meet the first of this month, yet our governor thought proper, prior thereto, to prorogue the assembly until November. For this reason, sir, I can only reply to your favor as a private person, or late speaker, and inform you that before the dissolution of the last assembly, the house took under consideration, the several late acts of parliament for imposing taxes and duties on the American colonies; and being sensibly affected thereby, ordered the committee of correspondence, to instruct our provincial agent, Mr. Benjamin Franklin, to join earnestly with the other colonies' agents, in soliciting a repeal of those acts, and in remonstrating against any acts of the like nature for the future. These instructions has been transmitted to Mr. Franklin, and I have no doubt but he will punctually observe them. When the assembly meet, I will lay your favor before the house, and I am sure that such measures will be pursued, in consequence thereof, as will manifest their regard for constitutional liberty, and

their respect for the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, whose wise and spirited conduct is so justly admired.

I am, Sir, &c.

ALEXANDER WYLLY."

At a meeting of the legislature in the province of Georgia, in February 1770, they took into consideration the rights which the parliament of Great-Britain claimed, to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases, and their imposition of taxes on the Americans under various pretences, but in truth for the purpose of raising a revenue ; and to bend the necks of the colonists for the yoke which Great-Britain was preparing for them : and their establishing of a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the duties imposed by these acts, but for trial of causes arising within the body of a county. Standing armies were also kept up in America, in time of profound peace ; and by the revival of a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the eighth, colonists might be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treasons, or misprisions or concealments of treason, committed in the colonies ; and by a late statute, such trials had been directed in cases therein mentioned : and that the governor had frequently taken upon himself to dissolve the as-

semblies, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances, in conformity to the custom of their ancestors, for ascertaining and vindicating their rights and liberties. In consequence of these infringements, the house of assembly made the following declarations.

“ Firstly—That the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights.

“ Secondly—That they are entitled to life, liberty and property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either, without their consent.

“ Thirdly—That our ancestors who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

“ Fourthly—That by such emigration, they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; but that they were, and their descendants now are entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

“ Fifthly—That the foundation of English liberty and free government, is a right of the people to participate in the legislative council:

and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation, in their several provincial legislatures ; where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal policy ; subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed : but from the necessity of the case and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members ; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

“ Sixthly—That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

“ Seventhly—That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience, respectively found to be

applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

“ Eighthly—That his majesty’s colonies are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

“ Ninthly—That they have a right peaceably to assemble and consider of their grievances, and petition the king ; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

“ Tenthly—That the keeping a standing army in the colonies in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

“ Eleventhly—And as it is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other—

“ Resolved—That the exercise of legislative power in any colony by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, may prove dangerous and destructive to the freedom of American legislation : all and each of which, the commons of Georgia in general assembly met, do claim, demand and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged, by any power whatever, without their consent.

“And whereas there are many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest, may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the close of the last war ; which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

“Resolved—That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies, and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies—viz. The several acts in vol. IV, Geo. the third, ch. 15 and ch. 34—vol. V, Geo. the third, ch. 25—vol. VI, Geo. the third, ch. 52—vol. VII, Geo. the third, ch. 41, and ch. 46—vol. VIII, Geo. the third, ch. 22, which impose duties for the purposes of raising a revenue in America ; extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits ; deprive the American subjects of trial by jury ; authorise the judge’s certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to ; requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property : and are subversive of American rights. Also vol. XII, Geo. the third, chap. 24, entitled an act for the better securing his majesty’s dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores, which de-

declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subjects of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorising the trial of any person charged with committing any offence described in the said act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm. Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament for the stopping the port, and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay, and that which is entitled an act for the better administration of justice, &c. Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, and abolishing the Episcopal system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, to the neighboring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure, the said country was conquered from France. Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North-America. Also that the keeping a standing army in several of the colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

“Resolved—that this house do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honorable and patriotic advocates of civil

and religious liberty, who have so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.

“Resolved—That the thanks of this house be given to the members of the late continental congress, for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American liberty.

“Resolved—That ———, ———, be deputies to represent this province in the intended American continental congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia on the 10th of May next, or at any other place or time, as may hereafter be agreed on by the said congress.

“Ordered—That Mr. Speaker do transmit a copy of the above resolution to the honorable Peyton Randolph esquire, president of the said congress.”

As may be supposed, these resolutions did not correspond with the political wishes of governor Wright. Copies were transmitted to the other provinces, and to doctor Franklin in London. Similar resolutions, in substance, were received by doctor Jones, the speaker, from almost every province in America. Doctor Franklin in his letters to the speaker, observed that parliament had risen without repealing the duties which had been so generally complained of, but that the ministry had assured him that the affairs in America had lately been considered in council, that it was the unanimous opinion, that no new acts for the

purpose of raising a revenue in America would be passed, and that it was the full intention of his majesty's servants, to propose early in the ensuing session, the repeal of the duties on glass, paper, and painters' colours. He had little hopes of attaining all that he desired, or all that ought to have been granted at once, but the giving ground in some degree had a good aspect, and afforded room to hope, that gradually, every obstruction to that cordial amity so necessary for the welfare of the whole empire, would be removed: he thought it would be better if these things could be effected at once, but that it was too much to expect, considering the pride natural to so great a nation; the prejudices that had so universally prevailed with regard to the point of right, and the resentment arising from the resistance of the American provinces. About this time a war with Spain was considered inevitable; and a disposition to accommodate amicably all differences with the colonies, began to show itself more strongly among persons in power, and the American agent thought it good policy to cultivate as much as possible that disposition: France however, being unwilling to join Spain in the contest, she thought it policy to smother her inclination for war.

Late in the year 1770, the board of trade in England had instructed governor Wright to consent to an act for electing representatives in the four parishes south of Alatomaha. The deputy-

secretary of state, had been required to give evidence before the house of representatives, but he questioned the power which the house had exercised, and refused compliance; in consequence of which he was committed to prison. The governor refused to notice the proceedings of the house, on the grounds of their being illegal; alledging that he had not sanctioned a representation from those parishes; and he was highly displeased with the power which had been assumed by them, in the imprisonment of the deputy-secretary. These circumstances, together with the evident disposition of a large majority of the members to support the resolutions entered into the preceeding session, induced the governor to resort to the extraordinary expedient of dissolving the assembly. The governor contended that the house of commons had not a right to extend commitments beyond the members of their own body. On a similar occasion, the king of England was so far from dissolving the house for exercising or insisting on this privilege, that on the contrary, he rather stretched his prerogative and lent his aid to the commons, by issuing a proclamation, directing the contumacious persons to be apprehended, and offered a reward for taking them. The king of England at that day, would not have ventured on the exercise of so much power: but the provincial governors took greater liberties, having naturally no respect for the people, but a great abundance

for ministers. Doctor Franklin supposed that it was by the arbitrary proceedings of provincial governors and other crown officers, countenanced by their protectors in England, that the affections of the Americans to the mother country were daily diminishing; and their attachment to its government, in danger of being lost in the course of a few succeeding years.

Governor Wright embarked for England on the 2nd of July 1771, and did not return to Georgia until the 11th of February 1773. During his absence, James Habersham, president of the council, exercised the executive functions.

In 1772, a change was made in the ministry, from which it was hoped that America would derive some advantages, as a change could scarcely be made less favorable to the interest of the provinces. From the character of lord Dartmouth it was expected that he would oppose the arbitrary proceedings which had disgraced the former administration: but these pleasing anticipations were not realized.

Corresponding committees were nominated in all the colonies, and the crisis approached, when it was necessary for them to decide, whether they would submit to taxation by the British parliament, or make a stand for the support of their principles and meet the consequences.

It was not the author's intention in this volume, to trespass upon the bounds of the revolutionary war, which produced an entire alteration

in the affairs of this province, changed the form of its government from regal to representative, and united it with the other colonies in the establishment of freedom and independence.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE LIFE OF

GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE, was the son of sir Theophilus Oglethorpe of Godalmen in the county of Surry, lieutenant-colonel of the duke of York's troop of the king's horse-guards, a major-general of the army, and a member of parliament, by Eleanora his wife, daughter of Richard Wall of Ragane, in Ireland. He was born in the parish of St. James's the 21st of December 1698 :* his father and two of his brothers

* In 1707, a pamphlet was published in England, entitled *Frances Shaftoe's narrative*, containing an account of her being a servant in sir Theophilus Oglethorpe's family; and with all the illiterate simplicity of her station, states that the pretended prince of Wales was sir Theophilus's son; that she was sent to France and barbarously used to make her turn papist and nun, in order to prevent a discovery, but she made her escape to Switzerland, and from thence returned to England. She says, "Ann Oglethorpe told me that the first pretended prince of Wales died of convulsion fits at the age of five or six weeks; but her mother had a little son some days older than the prince, and her mother took her little brother James, all in haste, and went to London, that her little brother and the prince were both sick together, and her little brother died, *or was lost*, but that it was a secret between her mother and queen Mary." It is something extraordinary, if true, that there is no record of Oglethorpe's birth on the parish register, in conformity with a long established custom of Great-Britain; and I am indebted to the *Encyclopædia Perthesis*, and the journal of a private gentleman in Georgia, where his birth day was celebrated, for the date which I have inserted.

being in the army, he was educated with a view to that profession, which he afterwards embraced. He was appointed an ensign in 1711, and in 1713 performed duty with that rank, at the proclamation of the peace at Utrecht. He was promoted to a captain-lieutenancy of the queen's guards in 1715: he afterwards employed himself in acquiring the art of war, under the famous prince Eugene, and other eminent commanders. He was patronized by the dukes of Argyle and Marlborough, by whose recommendations he acted as secretary and aid-de-camp to the prince, though at an early period of life, and stored up much useful knowledge. It was said that he was offered some preferment in the German service, where he might have acquired the station which his companion, marshal Keith, afterwards obtained: but with a man of his sentiments, the obligations due to his country, and the services it required, were not to be dispensed with.

From the time of prince Eugene's campaigns, the pacific disposition of the powers of Europe, prevented the exercise of Oglethorpe's military talents for a considerable time: at length a field was opened in the western world, where he had an opportunity of displaying them, and giving evidence of the feelings of his heart.

He was appointed colonel of a regiment the 25th of August 1737, with the rank of general and commander in chief over all the king's forces in Georgia and South-Carolina. It is said that

he commanded the first regular force that was ever stationed in America, and that he was the first general to whom a chief command had been given over two provinces. He was appointed brigadier-general in the British army, the 30th of March 1745, and major-general, the 13th of September 1747. He was elected member of parliament for Haslemere in Surry, in 1722, 1727, 1734, 1741 and 1747; and during that period many regulations in the laws of England, for the benefit of trade and for the public weal generally, were proposed and promoted by him. In 1728, finding a gentleman, to whom he paid a visit in the Fleet prison, loaded with irons and otherwise barbarously used, he engaged in a philanthropic inquiry into the state of the prisoners and gaols in England; where upon investigation, facts, disgraceful to humanity, were developed. He moved in the house of commons, that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the prisoners confined in the gaols of Great-Britain. A committee was accordingly appointed, and Oglethorpe who was its chairman, reported in 1729, several resolutions, which induced the house to attempt a redress of many flagrant abuses.

Oglethorpe suggested a project for the consideration of a number of gentlemen, principally members of parliament, who lately had occasion to observe the miserable condition of prison-

ers, confined in gaols for debt : moved with compassion for their relief, they judged that if they were settled in some of the new colonies in North America, they might, instead of being a burthen and disgrace, be made beneficial to the nation.

On the 15th of July 1732, he was vested with the functions of governor of Georgia, and in the ten succeeding years he crossed the Atlantic ocean six times, without fee or hope of reward, to forward his laudable design of settling the province. When he returned to England for the last time, in 1743, he took with him an Indian boy, son of one of the chiefs, who received a pretty liberal education and returned to Georgia a polished man ; and when he went into the Creek nation, considerable expectations were entertained from his influence in planting the seeds of civilization amongst his countrymen ; but he soon returned to his native habits.

General Oglethorpe, complimented colonel Noble Jones with his portrait in a neat frame, representing his Indian pupil standing by his side reading : it was lost when Savannah was captured by the British forces in December 1778.

In 1745, he accompanied the duke of Cumberland into Scotland, which was his last military expedition. On the 29th of August 1744, he

married Eliza,* daughter of sir Nathan Wright, bart. an heiress.

At the commencement of the American revolution, General Oglethorpe, being the senior officer of sir William Howe, and now grown old in military fame without sullyng his laurels, had the prior offer of the command of the forces appointed to subdue the colonies. He agreed to accept the appointment on condition the ministry would authorise him to assure the colonies, that justice should be done them. His proposal at once appeared the result of humanity and equity; he declared that—"He knew the
"people of America well; that they never would

* Verses enclosed to a lady in Charleston, soon after Oglethorpe's marriage; who inquired when he would return to America.

"The fairest of Diana's train,
For whom so many sigh'd in vain,
Has bound him in her silken chain,
From whence he'll ne'er get loose again.

The son of *Jove* and *Venus* knew,
Who bravely fought, could nobly woo,
And howsoe'er he dared in fight,
Was forc'd to yield to lovely *Wright*.

Both charming, graceful, equal, fair,
Love glorying in so bright a pair;
Fortune and nature both together,
Have left no vacant wish for either.

He, noble, generous and brave;
She, all the virtues wise men crave,
With manly judgment too beside,*
As e'er made hero happy bride.

Help, youths and virgins, help to sing,
The prize which *Hymen* now does bring:
I too my feeble voice will raise;
To name but *Oglethorpe*, is praise."

“be subdued by arms, but that their obedience
“would ever be secured by doing them justice.”*
A man with these ideas was not a fit instrument
for the designs of the British government : he was
therefore, agreeably to his own request, permitted
to remain at home, where he was a quiet specta-
tor of the folly of his country through a seven
years war with the colonies.

General Oglethorpe passed the eve of his life in
easy retirement, at the seat of his wife at Grantham
hall, in Essex, where he died the 30th of June,
1785, in the 87th year of his age. He had been
seventy-four years in the British army, and at his
death, he was said to have been the oldest officer
in the king’s service. His moderation and the
simplicity of his whole deportment, his prudence,
virtue, delight in doing good, real regard to mer-
it, unaffected simplicity in all his actions, great
knowledge and experience, generous care and
concern for his fellow creatures, his mercy and
benevolence, will admit of but few parallels in the
history of human life.

More can be said of general Oglethorpe, than
of the subject of any other prince in Europe : he
founded the province of Georgia in America ; he
lived to see it flourish, and become of conse-
quence to the commerce of Great Britain ; he
saw it in a state of resistance, and at length beheld
it independent of its mother country ; and of great
political importance in one quarter of the globe.

* British Annual Register.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF THE LIFE OF
LADY HUNTINGDON.

SELINA SHIRLEY, countess-dowager of Huntingdon, merits particular notice in the history of Georgia. This eminently pious lady, the second daughter of Washington Shirley, the second earl of Ferrars, was born in 1707, and married Theophilus earl of Huntingdon in 1728, by whom she had four sons and three daughters. After a dangerous illness she was impressed with a serious turn of mind, and on her recovery she devoted her whole time, fortune and attention, to religion and charity ; to the utter astonishment of all the fine ladies of the gay fashionable world. She became the generous patroness of the celebrated preacher Mr. Whitefield, and the calvinistic methodists in general : she opened her house in Park-street, London, for the preaching of the gospel, and erected chapels in various parts of the kingdom : she also built and endowed a college in Wales, for the purpose of educating serious young men for the ministry. She left a large donation to the Orphan-house in Georgia, and aided Mr. Whitefield considerably in founding that

laudable institution. It is said that at different periods of her life, she appropriated at least one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the propagation of the gospel, and to institutions for the relief of the poor. A portrait of that amiable woman as large as life, is still preserved by the commissioners of the Orphan-house. Her labors through life were unwearied, her charities and liberality extensive, and her whole deportment humble, meek and pious: she died in 1791, in the eighty-fourth year of her age.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—Refer to page 8.

GEORGE the second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, and so forth. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

Whereas we are credibly informed, that many of our poor subjects are, through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessity, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to provide a maintenance for themselves and families; and if they had means to defray their charges of passage, and other expences, incident to new settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of our provinces in America; whereas by cultivating the lands, at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen our colonies and increase the trade, navigation and wealth of these our realms. And whereas our provinces in North America, have been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies; more especially that of South-Carolina, which in the late war, by the neighboring savages, was laid waste by fire and sword, and great numbers of English inhabitants, miserably massacred, and our living subjects who now inhabit them, by

reason of the smallness of their numbers, will in case of a new war, be exposed to the late calamities ; inasmuch as their whole southern frontier continueth unsettled, and lieth open to the said savages—And whereas we think it highly becoming our crown and royal dignity, to protect all our loving subjects, be they never so distant from us ; to extend our fatherly compassion even to the meanest and most infatuated of our people, and to relieve the wants of our above mentioned poor subjects ; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a regular colony of the said poor people be settled and established in the southern territories of Carolina. And whereas we have been well assured, that if we will be graciously pleased to erect and settle a corporation, for the receiving, managing and disposing of the contributions of our loving subjects ; divers persons would be induced to contribute to the purposes aforesaid—Know ye therefore, that we have, for the considerations aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on of the said good purposes ; of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, willed, ordained, constituted and appointed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, constitute, declare and grant, that our right trusty and well beloved, John lord-viscount Purcival, of our kingdom of Ireland, our trusty and well beloved Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote,

Thomas Tower, Robert Moore, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, esquires, A. M. John Burton, B. D. Richard Bundy, A. M. Arthur Bedford, A. M. Samuel Smith, A. M. Adam Anderson and Thomas Corane, gentlemen ; and such other persons as shall be elected in the manner herein after mentioned, and their successors to be elected in the manner herein after directed ; be, and shall be one body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America ; and them and their successors by the same name, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, really and fully make, ordain, constitute and declare, to be one body politic in deed and in name forever ; and that by the same name, they and their successors, shall and may have perpetual succession ; and that they and their successors by that name shall and may forever hereafter, be persons able and capable in the law, to purchase, have, take, receive and enjoy, to them and their successors, any manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, advowsons, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, and other hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in Great Britain, or any part thereof, of whatsoever nature, kind or quality, or value they be, in fee and in perpetuity, not exceeding the yearly value of one thousand pounds, beyond reprises ; also estates for lives, and for

years, and all other manner of goods, chattels and things whatsoever they be ; for the better settling and supporting, and maintaining the said colony, and other uses aforesaid ; and to give, grant, let and demise the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels and things whatsoever aforesaid, by lease or leases, for term of years, in possession at the time of granting thereof, and not in reversion, not exceeding the term of thirty-one years, from the time of granting thereof ; on which in case no fine be taken, shall be reserved the full, and in case a fine be taken, shall be reserved at least a moiety of the value that the same shall reasonably and *bona fide* be worth at the time of such demise ; and that they and their successors, by the name aforesaid, shall and may forever hereafter, be persons able, capable in the law, to purchase, have, take, receive and enjoy, to them and their successors, and lands, territories, possessions, tenements, jurisdictions, franchises and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in America, of what quantity, quality or value whatsoever they be, for the better settling and supporting and maintaining the said colony ; and that by the name aforesaid they shall and may be able to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all courts and places whatsoever, and before whatsoever judges, justices, and other officers, of us, our heirs and successors, in all and singular ac-

tions, complaints, pleas, matters, suits and demands, of what kind, nature or quality soever they be ; and to act and to do, all matters and things in as ample manner and form as any other our liege subjects of this realm of Great Britain, and that they and their successors forever hereafter, shall and may have a common seal, to serve for the causes and businesses of them and their successors ; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their successors, to change, break, alter and make new the said seal, from time to time, and at their pleasure, and as they shall think best. And we do further grant, for us, our heirs and successors, that the said corporation, and the common council of the said corporation, hereinafter by us appointed, may from time to time, and at all times, meet about their affairs when and where they please, and transact and carry on the business of the said corporation. And for the better execution of the purposes aforesaid, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, that they and their successors forever, may upon the third tuesday in the month of March, yearly, meet at some convenient place to be appointed by the said corporation, or major part of them who shall be present at any meeting of the said corporation, to be had for the appointing of the said place ; and that they, or two thirds of such of them, that may be present at such yearly meeting, and at no other meeting of the said corporation, between the hours of ten in

the morning and four in the afternoon of the same day, choose and elect such person or persons to be members of the said corporation, as they shall think beneficial to the good designs of the said corporation. And our further will and pleasure is, that if it shall happen that any persons hereinafter by us appointed as the common council of the said corporation, or any other persons to be elected or admitted members of the said common council in the manner hereafter directed, shall die, the common council shall be increased to twenty-four; and that the same assembly at which such additional members of the said corporation shall be chosen, there shall likewise be elected, in the manner herein before directed for the election of common council-men, nine persons to be the said common council-men, and to make up the number twenty-four. And our further will and pleasure is, that our trusty and well beloved Edward Digby, esquire, shall be the first chairman of the common council of the said corporation; and that the said lord-viscount Purcival shall be, and continue, president of the said corporation, and that the said Edward Digby shall be and continue chairman of the common council of the said corporation, respectively, until the meeting which shall be had next and immediately after the first meeting of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation respectively, and no longer; at which said second meeting, and every other subsequent and future

meeting of the said corporation or of the common council of the said corporation respectively, in order to preserve an indifferent relation of the several offices, of president of the corporation, and of chairman of the common council of the said corporation we do direct and ordain that all and every the person and persons, members of the said common council for the time being, and no other, being present at such meetings, shall severally and respectively in their turns, preside at the meetings which shall from time to time be held of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation respectively : and in case any doubt or question shall at any time arise touching or concerning the right of any member of the said common council to preside at any meeting of the said corporation, or at the common council of the said corporation, the same shall respectively be determined by the major part of the said corporation respectively, who shall be present at such meeting. Provided always, that no member of the said common council having served in the offices of president of the said corporation, or of chairman of the common council of the said corporation, shall be capable of being, or of serving as president or chairman at any meeting of the said corporation, or common council of the said corporation next and immediately ensuing that in which he so served as president of the said corporation or chairman of the said common council of the said corporation respective-

ly ; unless it shall so happen that at any such meeting of the said corporation, there shall not be any other member of the said common council present. And our will and pleasure is, that at all and every of the meetings of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation, the president or chairman for the time being, shall have a voice and shall vote, and shall act as a member of the said corporation, at such meeting ; and in case of any equality of votes, the said president or chairman for the time being, shall have a casting vote. And our further will and pleasure is, that no president of the said corporation, or chairman of the common council of the said corporation, or member of the said common council or corporation, by us by these presents appointed, or hereafter from time to time to be elected and appointed in manner aforesaid, shall have, take, or receive, directly or indirectly, any salary, fee, perquisite, benefit or profit whatsoever, for or by reason of his or their serving the said corporation, or president, chairman or common council-men, or as being a member of the said corporation. And our will and pleasure is, that the said herein before appointed president, chairman or common council-men, before he and they act respectively as such, shall severally take an oath for the faithful and due execution of their trust, to be administered to the president by the chief baron of our court of exchequer, for the time being, and by the president of the said cor-

poration to the rest of the common council, who are hereby authorised severally and respectively, to administer the same. And our will and pleasure is, that all and every person and persons, who shall have in his or their own name or names, or in the name or names of any person or persons in trust for him or them, or for his or their benefit, place, office or employment of profit, under the said corporation, shall be incapable of being elected a member of the said corporation ; during such time as he shall be continued a member thereof, shall in his own name or in the name of any person or persons, in trust for him or for his benefit, have, hold or exercise, accept, possess or enjoy, any office, place or employment of profit, under the said corporation, or under the common council of the said corporation—such member shall from the time of his having, holding, exercising, possessing and enjoying such office; place and employment of profit, cease to be a member of the said corporation. And we do for us, our heirs and successors, or the major part of such of them as shall be present at any meeting of the said corporation, convened and assembled for that purpose by a convenient notice thereof, shall have power from time to time, hereafter to authorize and appoint such persons as they shall think fit to take subscriptions, and to gather and collect such money as shall be by any person or persons contributed for the purpose aforesaid ; and shall and may revoke and

make void such authorities and appointments, as often as they shall see cause so to do. And we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and direct, that the said corporation every year lay an account in writing before the chancellor, speaker, or commissioners, for the custody of the great seal of Great-Britain, of us, our heirs and successors ; and the chief justice of the court of common pleas, and the chief of the exchequer of our heirs and successors for the time being, or any two of them ; of all monies and effects by them received or expended, for the carrying on the good purposes aforesaid. And we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said corporation, and their successors, full power and authority to constitute, ordain and make, such and so many by-laws, institutions, orders and ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, at their general meeting for that purpose, shall deem necessary and convenient for the well ordaining and governing of the said corporation ; and the said by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, or any of them, to alter and annul, as they or the major part shall see requisite : and in and by such by-laws, rules, orders and ordinances, to sell, impose and inflict, reasonable pains and penalties upon any offender or offenders, who shall transgress, break or violate the said by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, so made as aforesaid, and to mitigate the same as they or the

major part of them then present shall think convenient; which said pains and penalties, shall and may be levied, sued for, taken, retained and recovered, by the said corporation and their successors, by their officers and servants, from time to time, to be appointed for that purpose, by action of debt, or by any other lawful ways or means, to the use and behoof of the said corporation and their successors, all and singular: which by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, pains and penalties, from time to time so made and imposed, and reasonable and not contrary or repugnant to the laws or statutes of this our realm; and that such by-laws, constitutions and ordinances, pains and penalties, from time to time to be made and imposed, and any repeal or alteration thereof, or any of them, may be likewise agreed to or established and confirmed by the said general meeting of the said corporation, to be held and kept next after the same shall be respectively made. And whereas the said corporation intend to settle a colony, and to make an habitation and plantation on that part of our province of South-Carolina, in America, herein after described—Know ye, that we greatly desiring the happy success of the said corporation, for their further encouragement in accomplishing so excellent a work have of our foresaid grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, given and granted by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said corpo-

ration and their successors under the reservation, limitation and declaration, hereafter expressed, seven undivided parts, the whole in eight equal parts to be divided, of all those lands, country and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of South-Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern part of a stream or river there, commonly called the Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, to the southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatomaha, and westwardly from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the south seas; and all that share, circuit and precinct of land, within the said boundaries, with the islands on the sea, lying opposite to the eastern coast of the said lands, within twenty leagues of the same, which are not inhabited already, or settled by any authority derived from the crown of Great-Britain: together with all the soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulfs and bays, mines, as well royal mines of gold and silver, as other minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, as well royal fishings of whale and sturgeon as other fishings, pearls, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, franchises, privileges and pre-eminences, within the said frontiers and the precincts thereof and thereunto, in any sort belonging and appertaining, and which we by our letters patent may or can grant, and in as ample manner and sort as we may or any our royal progenetors have hitherto granted to any

company, body politic or corporate, or to any adventurer or adventurers, undertaker or undertakers, of any discoveries, plantation or trafic, of, in, or into any foreign port whatsoever; and in as legal and ample manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed: to have, hold, possess and enjoy, the said seven undivided parts, the whole into eight equal parts, to be divided as aforesaid, of all and singular the lands, countries and territories, with all and singular other the premises herein before by these presents granted or mentioned, or intended to be granted to them, the said corporation, and their successors forever, for the better support of the said colony, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our honorable ———, of Hampton-court, of our courts of Middlesex in free and commons occage, and not in capite, yielding, and paying therefor to us, our heirs and successors yearly forever, the sum of eleven shillings for every hundred acres of the said lands, which the said corporation shall grant, demise, plant or settle; the said payment not to commence or to be made, until ten years after such grant, demise, planting or settling; and to be answered and paid to us, our heirs and successors, in such manner and in such species of money or notes, as shall be current in payment, by proclamation from time to time, in our said province of South-Carolina. All which lands, countries, territories and premises, hereby granted or

mentioned, and intended to be granted, we do by these presents, make, erect and create one independent and separate province, by the name of Georgia, by which name we will, the same henceforth be called. And that all and every person or persons, who shall at any time hereafter inhabit or reside within our said province, shall be, and are hereby declared to be free, and shall not be subject to be bound to obey any laws, orders, statutes and constitutions, which have been heretofore made, ordered or enacted by, for, or as, the laws, orders, statutes or constitutions of our said province of South-Carolina, (save and except only the command of the militia,) of our said province of Georgia, to our governor for the time being of South-Carolina, in manner hereafter declared; but shall be subject to, and bound to obey, such laws, orders, statutes and constitutions as shall from time to time be made, ordered and enacted, for the better government of the said province of Georgia, in the manner heretofore declared. And we do hereby, for our heirs and successors, ordain, will and establish, that for and during the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, the said corporation assembled for that purpose, shall and may form and prepare, laws, statutes and ordinances, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony, and not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England; and the same shall and may present under their

common seal to us, our heirs and successors, in our or their privy council for our or their approbation or disallowance : and the said laws, statutes and ordinances, being approved of by us, our heirs and successors, in our or their privy council, shall from thence forth be in full force and virtue within our said province of Georgia. And forasmuch as the good and prosperous success of the said colony, cannot but chiefly depend, next under the blessing of God, and the support of our royal authority, upon the provident and good direction of the whole enterprise, and that it will be too great a burthen upon all the members of the said corporation to be convened so often as may be requisite, to hold meetings for the settling, supporting, ordering, and maintaining the said colony ; therefore we do will, ordain and establish, that the said common council for the time being, of the said corporation, being assembled for that purpose, or the major part of them, shall from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have full power and authority to dispose of, extend and apply all the monies and effects belonging to the said corporation, in such manner and ways and by such expenses as they shall think best to conduce to the carrying on and effecting the good purposes herein mentioned and intended : and also shall have full power in the name and on account of the said corporation, and with and under their common seal, to enter under any covenants or contracts, for carrying on and effecting the purposes afore-

said. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said common council for the time being, or the major part of such common council, which shall be present and assembled for that purpose, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall and may nominate, constitute and appoint a treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries, and such other officers ministers and servants of the said corporation as to them or the major part of them as shall be present, shall seem proper or requisite for the good management of their affairs ; and at their will and pleasure to displace, remove and put out such treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries, and all such other officers, ministers and servants, as often as they shall think fit so to do ; and others in the room, office, place or station of him or them so displaced, removed or put out, to nominate constitute and appoint ; and shall and may determine and appoint, such reasonable salaries, perquisites and other rewards, for their labor, or service of such officers, servants and persons as to the said common council shall seem meet : and all such officers servants and persons shall, before the acting in their respective offices, take an oath to be to them administered by the chairman for the time being of the said common council of the said corporation, who is hereby authorised to administer the same, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places. And our will and pleasure is, that all such person and persons, who shall

from time to time be chosen or appointed treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries of the said corporation, in manner herein after directed, shall during such times as they shall serve in the said offices respectively, be incapable of being a member of the said corporation. In case any member shall die, or shall by writing under his or their hands respectively resign his or their office or offices of common council-man or common council-men; the said corporation, or the major part of such of them, as shall be present, shall and may at such meeting, on the said third tuesday in March yearly, in manner as aforesaid, next after such death or resignation, and at no other meeting of the said corporation, into the room or place of such person or persons, so dead or so resigning, elect and choose one or more such person or persons, being members of the said corporation as to them shall seem meet: and our will is, that all and every person or persons which shall from time to time hereafter be elected common council-men of the said corporation as aforesaid, do and shall, before he or they act as common council-men of the said corporation, take an oath for the faithful and due execution of their office; which oath the president of the said corporation for the time being, is hereby authorised and required to administer to such person or persons elected as aforesaid. And our will and pleasure is, that the first president of the said corporation, is and shall be our trusty and well beloved the said John lord Viscount Pur-

cival ; and that the said president shall, within thirty days after the passing this charter, cause a summons to be issued to the several members of the said corporation, herein particularly named, to meet at such time and place as he shall appoint, to consult about and transact the businesses of the said corporation. And our will and pleasure is, and we, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, ordain and direct, that the common council of this corporation, shall consist of fifteen in number ; and we do by these presents, nominate, constitute and appoint, our right trusty and well beloved, John, lord-viscount Purcival, our trusty and well beloved, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, esquires, and Stephen Hales, M. A. to be the common council of the said corporation, to continue in the said office during their good behaviour. And whereas it is our royal intention, that the members of the said corporation should be increased by election, as soon as conveniently may be, to a greater number than is hereby nominated. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and direct, that the unnumber of the members shall not increase so as to exceed twenty-four. And we do further of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, by these presents, to the said corporation and their

successors, that it shall be lawful for them and their officers or agents, at all times hereafter, to transport and convey out of our realm of Great-Britain, or any other our dominions, into the said province of Georgia, to be there settled; and so many of our loving subjects, or any foreigners that are willing to become our subjects, and live under our allegiance, in the said colony, as shall be willing to go to, inhabit, or reside there, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, powder, shot, ordnance, munition, victuals, merchandize and wares, as are esteemed by the wild people; clothing implements, furniture, cattle, horses, mares, and all other things necessary for the colony, and for the use and defence and trade with the people there, and in passing and returning to and from the same. Also we do, for ourselves and successors, declare, by these presents, that all and every the persons which shall happen to be born within the said province, and every of their children and posterity, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural born subjects, within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if abiding and born within this our kingdom of Great-Britain, or any other dominion.— And for the greater care and encouragement of our loving subjects and such others as shall come to inhabit in our said colony, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, establish and ordain, that forever hereafter, there

shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God, to all persons inhabiting, or which shall inhabit or be resident within our said province, and that all such persons, except papists, shall have a free exercise of religion, so they be contented with the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the government. And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, declare and grant, that it shall and may be lawful for the said common council, or the major part of them assembled for that purpose, in the name of the corporation, and under the common seal, to distribute, convey, assign and set over such particular portions of lands, tenements and hereditaments by these presents granted to the said corporation, unto such our loving subjects, natural born, denizens or others that shall be willing to become our subjects, and live under one allegiance in the said colony, upon such terms, and for such estates, and upon such rents, reservations and conditions as the same may be lawfully granted, and as to the said common council, or the major part of them so present, shall seem fit and proper. Provided always that no grants shall be made of any part of the said lands unto any person, being a member of the said corporation, or to any other person in trust, for the benefit of any member of the said corporation; and that no person having any estate or interest, in law or equity, in any

part of the said lands, shall be capable of being a member of the said corporation, during the continuance of such estate or interest. Provided also, that no greater quantity of lands be granted, either entirely or in parcels, to or for the use, or in trust for any one person, than five hundred acres; and that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, shall be absolutely null and void. And we do hereby grant and ordain, that such person or persons, for the time being as shall be thereunto appointed by the said corporation, shall and may at all times, and from time to time hereafter, have full power and authority to administer and give the oaths, appointed by an act of parliament, made in the first year of the reign of our late royal father, to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and also the oath of abjuration, to all and every person and persons which shall at any time be inhabiting or residing within our said colony; and in like cases to administer the solemn affirmation to any of the persons commonly called quakers, in such manner as by the laws of our realm of Great-Britain, the same may be administered. And we do, of our further grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, grant, establish and ordain, for us, our heirs and successors, that the said corporation and their successors, shall have full power and authority, for and during the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters pa-

tent, to erect and constitute judicatures and courts of record, or other courts, to be held in the name of us, our heirs and successors ; for hearing and determining of all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, complaints, actions, matters, causes and things whatsoever, arising or happening, within the said province of Georgia, or between persons of Georgia ; whether the same be criminal or civil, and whether the said crimes be capital or not capital, and whether the said pleas be real, personal or mixed : and for awarding and making out executions thereupon, to which courts and judicatures, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority, from time to time, to administer oaths for the discovery of truth in any matter in controversy, or depending before them, or the solemn affirmation, to any of the persons commonly called quakers, in such manner, as by the laws of our realm of Great-Britain, the same may be administered. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said corporation and their successors, do from time to time, and at all times hereafter, register or cause to be registered, all such leases, grants, plantings, conveyances, settlements, and improvements whatsoever, as shall at any time hereafter be made by, or in the name of the said corporation, of any lands, tenements or hereditaments within the said province ; and shall yearly send and transmit, or cause to be sent or transmitted, authentic accounts of such

leases, grants, conveyances, settlements and improvements respectively, into the auditor of the plantations for the time being, of our said province of South-Carolina; to whom we do hereby grant full power and authority from time to time, as often as need shall require, to inspect and survey, such of the said lands and premises, as shall be demised, granted and settled as aforesaid: which said survey and inspection, we do hereby declare, to be intended to ascertain the quit-rents which shall from time to time become due to us, our heirs and successors, according to the reservation herein before mentioned, and for no other purposes whatsoever; hereby for us, our heirs and successors, strictly enjoining and commanding, that neither our or their surveyor, or any person whatsoever, under the pretext and colour of making the said survey or inspection, shall take, demand or receive, any gratuity, fee or reward, of or from, any person or persons, inhabiting in the said colony, or from the said corporation or common council of the same, on the pain of forfeiture of the said office or affairs, and incurring our highest displeasure. Provided always, and our further will and pleasure is, that all leases, grants and conveyances to be made by or in the name of the said corporation, of any lands within the said province, or a memorial containing the substance and effect thereof, shall be registered with the auditor of the said plantations, of us, our heirs and successors, within the

space of one year, to be computed from the date thereof, otherwise the same shall be void. And our further will and pleasure is, that the rents, issues and other profits, which shall at any time hereafter come to the said corporation, or the major part of them which shall be present at any meeting for that purpose assembled, shall think will most improve and enlarge the said colony, and best answer the good purposes herein before mentioned, and for defraying all other charges about the same. And our will and pleasure is, that the said corporation and their successors, shall from time to time give in to one of the principal secretaries of state, and to the commissioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progresses of the said colony. And our will and pleasure is that no act done at any meeting of the said common council of the said corporation, shall be effectual and valid, unless eight members at least of the said common council, including the member who shall serve as chairman at the said meeting, be present, and the major part of them consenting thereunto. And our will and pleasure is, that the common council of the said corporation for the time being, or the major part of them who shall be present, being assembled for that purpose, shall from time to time, for, and during, and unto the full end and expiration of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, have full power and authority to nominate, make, constitute and com-

mission, ordain and appoint, by such name or names, stile or stiles, as to them shall seem meet and fitting, all and singular such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers and officers, civil and military, both by sea and land, within the said districts, as shall by them be thought fit and needful to be made or used for the said 'government of the said colony ; save always, and except such offices only as shall by us, our heirs and successors, be from time to time constituted and appointed, for the managing and collecting and receiving such revenues, as shall from time to time arise within the said province of Georgia, and become due to us, our heirs and successors. Provided always, and it is our will and pleasure, that every governor of the said province of Georgia, to be appointed by the common council of the said corporation, before he shall enter upon or execute the said office of governor, shall be approved by us, our heirs or successors, and shall take such oaths, and shall qualify himself in such manner, in all respects, as any governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies or plantations in America, are by law required to do ; and shall give good and sufficient security for observing the several acts of parliament relating to trade and navigation, and to observe and obey all instructions that shall be sent to him by us, our heirs and successors, or any acting under our or their authority, pursuant to the said acts, or any of them. And we do by these presents

for us, our heirs and successors, will, grant and ordain, that the said corporation and their successors, shall have full power for and during and until the full end and term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, by any commander or other officer or officers, by them for that purpose from time to time appointed, to train and instruct, exercise and govern a militia, for the special defence and safety of our said colony, to assemble in martial array, the inhabitants of the said colony, and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, expulse, repel, resist and pursue, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within or without the limits of our said colony; and also to kill, slay and destroy, and conquer by all fighting ways, enterprizes and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons as shall at any time hereafter, in any hostile manner, attempt or enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of our said colony; and to use and exercise the martial law in time of actual war and invasion or rebellion, in such cases, where by law the same may be used or exercised; and also from time to time to erect forts, and fortify any place or places within our said colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary ammunition, provisions and stores of war, for offence and defence, and so commit from time to time the custody or government of the same, to such person or persons as to them shall seem meet: and the said forts or for-

tifications to demolish at their pleasure; and to take and surprize, by all ways and means, all and every such person or persons, with their ships, arms, ammunition and other goods, as shall in an hostile manner, invade or attempt the invading, conquering or annoying of our said colony. And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, declare and grant, that the governor and commander in chief of the province of South-Carolina, of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, shall at all times hereafter have the chief command of the militia of our said province, hereby erected and established; and that such militia shall observe and obey all orders and directions, that shall from time to time be given or sent to them by the said governor or commander in chief; any thing in these presents before contained to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding. And, of our more special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant, unto the said corporation and their successors, full power and authority to import and export their goods, at and from any port or ports that shall be appointed by us, our heirs and successors, within the said province of Georgia, for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other port in South-Carolina. And we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, will and declare, that from and after

the termination of the said term of twenty-one years, such form of government and method of making laws, statutes and ordinances, for the better governing and ordering the said province of Georgia, and the inhabitants thereof, shall be established and observed within the same, as we, our heirs and successors, shall hereafter ordain and appoint, and shall be agreeably to law; and that from and after the determination of the said term of twenty-one years, the governor of our said province of Georgia, and all officers civil and military, within the same, shall from time to time be nominated and constituted, and appointed by us, our heirs and successors. And lastly, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said corporation and their successors, that these our letters patent, or the enrolments or exemplification thereof, shall be in and by all things good, firm, valid, sufficient and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged, in all courts and elsewhere in the most favorable and beneficial sense, and for the best advantage of the said corporation and their successors; and omission, imperfection, defect, matter or cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness, we have caused these our letters to be made patent: witness ourselves at Westminster, the ninth day of June 1732, in the fifth year of our reign.

By writ of privy-seal.

COOKS,

No. 2.—Refer to page 36.

The trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America, to the chief men of the nation of the lower Creeks, send greeting :

WHEREAS the great king George the second, king of Great-Britain ; did by his letters patent under the great seal of Great-Britain, bearing date the ninth day of June, in the 5th year of his reign, constitute and appoint a body politick and corporate by the name of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America. And whereas the said trustees have received from their beloved Mr. James Oglethorpe of West-Brook-Place, in the county of Surry esquire, one of the common council of the said trustees, a copy of certain articles of friendship and commerce between the said trustees and the said chief men, which is in the words following (that is to say,) articles of friendship and commerce between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the nation of the lower Creeks.

First—The trustees bearing in their hearts great love and friendship to you the said head men of the lower Creek nation, do engage to let their people carry up into your towns all kinds of goods fitting to trade in the said towns, at the rates and prices settled and agreed upon before you the said head men, and annexed to this treaty of trade and friendship.

Secondly—The trustees do by these articles promise to see restitution done to any of the people of your towns by the people they shall send among you ; proof being made to the beloved man they shall at any time send among you, that they who have either committed murder, robbery, or have beat or wounded any of your people, or any wise injured them in their crops by their horses, or any other ways whatever ; and upon such proof the said people shall be tried and punished according to the English law.

Thirdly.—The trustees, when they find the hearts of you the said head-men and your people are not good to the people they shall send among you, or that you or your people do not mind this paper, they will withdraw the English trade from the town so offending. And that you and your-people may have this chain of friendship in your minds and fixed to your hearts, they have made fast their seal to this treaty.

Fourthly—We the head men of the Coweta and Cuseta towns, in behalf of all the lower Creek nation, being firmly persuaded, that he who lives in heaven and is the occasion of all good things, has moved the hearts of the trustees to send their beloved men among us, for the good of our wives and children, and to instruct us and them in what is strait, do therefore declare that we are glad that their people are come here ; and though this land belongs to us, (the lower Creeks) yet we, that we may be instructed by them, do con-

sent and agree, that they shall make use of and possess all those lands, which our nation hath not occasion to use : and we make over unto them, their successors and assigns, all such lands and territories as we shall have no occasion to use ; provided always, that they upon settling every new town, shall set out for the use of ourselves, and the people of our nation, such lands as shall be agreed upon between their beloved men, and the head men of our nation, and that those lands shall remain to us forever.

Fifthly—We the head-men do promise for ourselves and the people of our towns, that the traders for the English, which shall settle among us, shall not be robbed or molested in their trade in our nation ; and that if it shall so happen, any of our people should be mad, and either kill, wound, beat or rob any of the English traders or their people, then we the said head-men of the towns aforesaid, do engage to have justice done to the English, and for that purpose to deliver up any of our people who shall be guilty of the crimes aforesaid, to be tried by the English laws, or by the laws of our nation, as the beloved man of the trustees shall think fit. And we further promise not to suffer any of the people of our said towns, to come into the limits of the English settlements, without leave from the English beloved man, and that we will not molest any of the English traders passing to or from any nation in friendship with the English.

Sixthly—We the head-men, for ourselves and people, do promise to apprehend and secure any negro or other slave, which shall runaway from any of the English settlements to our nation, and to carry them either to this town, or Savannah or Palachuekola garrison, and there to deliver him up to the commander of such garrison, and to be paid by him four blankets or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods; provided such runaway negro or other slave, shall be taken by us or any of our people on the farther side of Oconee river; and in case such negro or runaway slave, shall be taken on the hither side of the said river, and delivered to the commanders aforesaid, then we understand the pay to be one gun or the value thereof; and in case we or our people should kill any such slave for resistance or running away from us in apprehending him, then we are to be paid one blanket for his head, by any trader, for carrying such slaves head unto him.

Lastly—We promise with stout hearts and love to our brothers the English, to give no encouragement to any other white people but themselves, to settle amongst us, and that we will not have any correspondence with the Spaniards or French, and to show that we both for the good of ourselves, our wives and children, do firmly promise to keep the the talk in our hearts, as long as the sun shall shine or the waters run in the rivers. We have each of us set the marks of our families.

Schedule of the prices of goods agreed on, annexed :

Two yards of stroud,	Five buck-skins.
One yard of plains, . . .	One ditto.
White blanket,	Five ditto.
Blue ditto,	Three ditto.
A gun,	Ten ditto.
A pistol,	Five ditto.
A gun lock,	Four ditto.
Two measures of powder,	One ditto.
Sixty bullets,	Ditto ditto.
One white shirt, . . .	Two ditto.
One knife,	One doe-skin.
Eighteen flints,	One buck-skin.
Three yards of cadiz, . .	One doe-skin.
Ditto ditto of gartering, .	Ditto ditto.
One hoe,	Two buck-skins.
One axe,	Ditto ditto.
One large hatchet, . . .	Three doe-skins.
One small ditto,	One buck-skin.
Brass kettles per lb. . .	Ditto ditto.

Doe-skins were estimated at half the value of the bucks.

And whereas the said trustees are greatly desirous to maintain and preserve an inviolable peace, friendship and commerce between the said head-men of the lower nation of Creeks, and the people of the said trustees, have sent and shall send to inhabit and settle in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to endure to the worlds end.

Now know ye, that we the said trustees for

establishing the colony of Georgia in America, do by these presents, ratify and confirm the said articles of friendship and commerce, between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the lower Creeks, and all and every of the articles and agreements therein contained, and also the rates and prices of goods above mentioned, settled and agreed upon before the said head-men, and annexed to the said treaty of trade and friendship. In witness whereof, the common council of the said trustees, for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, have to these presents made fast the common seal of the corporation of the said trustees, the eighteenth day of October, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord, George the second, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.

By order of the said common council.

BENJAMIN MARTYN, Secretary.

No. 3.—Refer to page 141.

Proceedings of the assembled estates of all the lower Creek nation, on saturday, the eleventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine.

BY powers from his most sacred majesty George the second, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, &c. General James Oglethorpe being appointed commissioner, was present in behalf of his majesty, and opened the assembly by a speech. There was also present at the said assembly of estates, Mico or chief king of the Coweta town, Chickeley Nenia Mico, of the said town, Malatche Mico, son of Brim, late emperor of the Creek nation, and the chiefs and warriors of the Coweta town, and the Mico or king of the Cusetas, and Schisheligo Mico, next to the king of the Cusetas; Iskegio, third chief man of the Cusetas, and the other chief men and warriors of the said town; and also Ochaohapko, one of the chief men of the town of Palachuckolas: Killatee, chief war captain, and other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Townmawme Mico of the Ufawles, with several other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said towns—Matalcheko was captain of the Echeectees, with several other chief

men and warriors, being sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Neathaklo, chief man of the Owichees, with several other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Occullaviche, chief man of the Chehaws, with several other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Hewanawge Thaleekeeo, chief man of the Oakmulgee, with several of the chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—The Mico, king of the Oconees, with several chief men and warriors, having full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Neachackelo, second chief man of the Swagles, with several other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town.

The said estates being "solemnly held in full convention, by general James Oglethorpe, on behalf of the trustees of the one part, and the kings, chiefs and warriors aforesaid, on the other part, according to the forms, religion and customs, transmitted down by their ancestors. The whole estates declared by general consent, without one negative, that they adhered to their ancient love to the king of Great-Britain, and to their agreement made in the year 1733, with the trustees, for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, a counterpart of which agreement was

then delivered to each town, and the deputies of the several towns produced the same : and the said estates further declared, that all the dominions, territories and lands from the river Savannah to the river St. John's, and all the islands between the said rivers ; and from the river St. John's to the bay of Appalache, within which is the Appalache Old-fields ; and from the said bay of Appalache to the mountains, doth by ancient right belong to the Creek nation, who have maintained possession of the said right against all opposers, by war, and can show the heaps of bones of their enemies, slain by them in defence of the said lands. And they further declare, that the said Creek nation, hath for ages had the protection of the kings and queens of England, and have gone to war by commissions from the governors, appointed by the said kings and queens of England ; and that the Spaniards nor no other nation, have a right to any of the said lands, and that they will not suffer them or any other persons (excepting the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America) to settle upon the said lands. And they do acknowledge the grant they have already made to the trustees, establishing the colony of Georgia in America, of the lands upon Savannah river, as far as the river Ogechee, and all the lands along the sea coast, as far as the river St. John's, and as high as the tide flows, and all the islands as far as the said river, particularly the islands of Frederica, (meaning

St. Simon's) Cumberland and Amelia, to which they have given the names of his majesty, king George's family, out of gratitude to him. But they declare that they did and do reserve to the Creek nation, the lands from Pipe-makers Bluff to Savannah, and the islands of St. Catharine's, Osabaw and Sapelo. And they further declare, that all the said lands are held by the Creek nation as tenants in common.

The said commissioners doth declare that the English shall not enlarge or take any other land, except those granted as above by the Creek nation to the trustees, and doth promise and covenant that he will punish any person that shall intrude upon the lands which the corporation hath reserved as above.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Coweta town, this twenty-first day of August, anno domini, 1739.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

By James Oglethorpe, esquire, general and commander in chief of all his majesty's forces in South-Carolina and Georgia, &c. To all his majesty's subjects to whom these presents shall come, greeting :

KNOW YE, that you are not to take up or settle any land beyond the above limits, settled by me with the Creek nation, at their estates held on

Saturday, the eleventh day of August, anno domini, 1739: as you shall, through me, at your peril answer.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Coweta town, this twenty-first day of August, anno domini, 1739.

JAMES OGLETHORPE:

No. 4.—Refer to page 214.

Frederica in Georgia, December 14th 1747.

“KNOW all men by these presents, that we, Simpeopy war-king, of the Cowetas; Thlockpalahi, head warrior of the said town; Moxumgi, king of the Etchitas; Iswige, head warrior of the Etchitas, and Actithilki, beloved man of the said town; Ciocoliche, king of Osuchees; Appalya and Ischaboagy, beloved men of Nipky, and Himmopacohi, warriors of the said town; Tokeah, war-king of the Chehaws; Whyanneachi and Etowah, warriors of the said town; Mahelabbi, beloved man of the Cusetas, and Scheyah, warrior of the said town; and Estchothalleachi Yahulla Mico, of the Tiskugas: having full power by the laws of our nation, to conclude every thing for the towns we represent, do hereby acknowledge Malatche Opiya Mico, to be our rightful and natural prince. And we likewise further acknowledge that by the laws of our na-

tion, we think ourselves obliged to stand by, ratify and confirm, every act and deed of his, as much as if we ourselves were present, and we therefore make this public declaration to all subjects of the crown of Great-Britain, that Malatche Opiya Mico has full power and authority as our natural prince, to transact all affairs relating to our nation, as firmly and fully, to all intents and purposes, as we the whole nation might or could do if present. In confirmation of which presents, we have hereunto set our hands, and affixed our seals in behalf of the different towns we represent, the day and date above written.”

Signed and sealed in presence of

ALEXANDER HERON, JAMES MACKAY,
PATRICK HOUSTOUN, JOHN CALWELL,
THOMAS WALKER, THOMAS CLEMENS.

The above was signed and sealed by the Indians whose names are therein mentioned, proved by Alexander Heron, before Charles Wright, a justice of the peace in South-Carolina, on the 2nd of January 1748, and recorded in the secretary's office of that state, in book G. G. folio 239, by William George Freeman, deputy-secretary of state.

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